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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SPECIAL ISSUE

The Ties That Bind



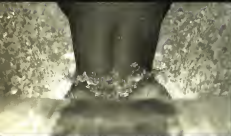
Canada: A Community of Dreams





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
JULY 1, 1994 VOL. 107 NO. 27

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THE TIES THAT BIND

A Special Issue looks beyond the political rhetoric to examine why so many Canadians want to stay united

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This summer, the big screen offers excursions to a variety of wild kingdoms.

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LETTERS

Wrong emphasis

Our Prince Minister, Jean Chrétien, is one of the first world leaders to visit our troops in strife-torn Bosnia ("Visiting the front," Canada, June 23)—and what emphasis does the Canadian media choose to place on his visit? Pictures of him wearing his belted necktie.

Bill Stewart,
Brampton, Ont.

So what if Jean Chrétien wore his belted necktie? He's got his head screwed on right and that's more important.

Margo Glenn,
Montreal



Chrétien in Bosnia: his head is screwed on right

"Thank God"

The opening sentence in your article "Talking south cross" (Canada, June 13) stated that Arnold Skolmen died "after being stabbed repeatedly." No, Brian Gold. This young man in our text and he is alive today—despite life-threatening injuries—not only because of his courage and determination, but also because of the people who came running to his aid. We cannot ade-

quately praise or thank those people who are heroes in our eyes. And yet, the Young Officers Act and the justice system need an overhaul, but please stop victimizing the victim in trying to achieve these changes.

Shirley Skolmen,
E. Beaver Hills,
Regina, Ont.

Smug no more

As a native Vancouverite, it was one of my greatest thrills to watch the Vancouver Canucks make it to the Stanley Cup final this year. My pride was only heightened as many of my non-Canadian friends commented on what a great sport hockey is, how well they thought the Canucks were playing, what tremendous fan support the city provided the team and what a beautiful city Vancouver is. After watching the Canucks lose in Game 7, I thought I could take solace in this pride. But after the night following the game ("This is not Vancouver," Canada, June 27), I no longer feel my pride. I always resented it toward the natives as other North American cities—Montreal, Detroit, Chicago—after they were professional sports championships and how I had felt a certain superiority that of Vancouver over was to be in that spotlight, this would never happen. I am no longer a smug Vancouverite, now I am a Canadian.

R. David Harniss,
Brampton, Ont.

'A minor role'

In reading your finding article on Brian Mulroney's "chief word smith" during 1985-1988, and that, according to you, he was "dismantling" and "speculating that even one of his current Tory members' concerns were material." The fact is that during this period, Boardman played a very minor role as a spokeswoman for Mulroney. I assure you that I was in charge of the group in Mulroney's office that was responsible for his speeches at that time. If Mulroney's speeches during this period were "material," it was because of his efforts and those of our group, not Lucien Boardman's.

Jon D. Johnson,
Ottawa

Mulroney's authorized speaking press. For letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please include name, address and daytime telephone number. Letters to the Editor: Mulroney's speaking press. For letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please include name, address and daytime telephone number. For letters to the Editor: Mulroney's speaking press. For letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please include name, address and daytime telephone number.

PASSAGES

ACQUAINTED: Lt.-Col. Carol Mathews, 45, of negligible performance at duty for authorizing the shooting of Bosnia's leaders in the legs while commander of the Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia, by a five-officer court martial panel, at CFB Petawawa, Ont. Mathews recorded the controversial order after one civilian died from gunshot wounds. Frayed by fellow soldiers' death, his two-week trial, Mathews is the most senior officer charged as a result of incidents during the six months the regiment served in Somalia as part of a UN humanitarian aid mission. Most of the other charges related to the beating death of a 16-year-old civilian.



DISSENT: CBC English TV vice-president of news, career stars and Newsweek Tina Notchell, 57, two years after he was hired from rival CTV. Notchell's resignation, "to pursue other professional opportunities," according to CBC TV vice-president Jan Byrd, comes a week after CBC chairman Patrick Watson stepped down four months before the expiry of his term. Notchell oversees the creation of Prime Time News, the 9 p.m. replacement for The National and The Journal, which had driven a much larger audience to 30 p.m.

AWARDED: French Gen. Philippe Morillon, the Montserratian Senior Cross for his "outstanding courage, professionalism and leadership" as the commander of the former Yugoslavs, by Gov. Gen. Roy MacLennan, in Ottawa.

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. The Shadow, John Grisham (2)
2. The Christmas Prophecy, Joyce Kilpatrick (3)
3. The Bravest, Connor McCreedy (3)
4. Endgame, Lisa Brown (3)
5. The Stone Quarry, Carl Hiaasen (4)
6. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
7. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
8. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
9. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
10. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)

NONFICTION

1. In the Shadow of the Moon, Peter Dinklage (2)
2. The Bravest, Connor McCreedy (3)
3. Moving Beyond White, George Brown (3)
4. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
5. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
6. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
7. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
8. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
9. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)
10. The Girl on the Train, Rachel Watson (4)

For further information, contact Bob DeLoe

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THE TIES THAT BIND

BY JUNE CALLWOOD



The Prime Minister had something vital to say about Canada when he was in Normandy in June for the D-Day memorial ceremonies. Referring to the fields of white crosses stretching to the horizon, Jean Chretien commented: "In death they were not anglophones or francophones, not from the west or from the east, not Christians or Jews, not aboriginal people or immigrants. They were Canadians."

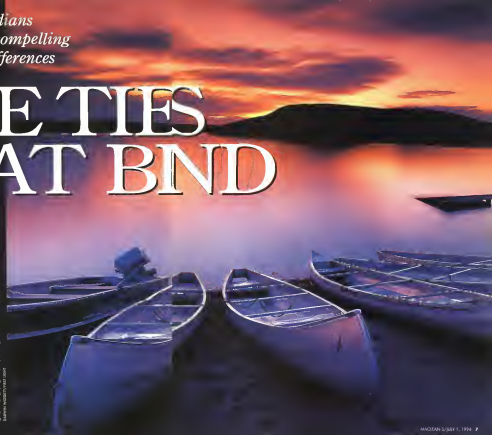
It was a poignant reminder that Canadians once thought of themselves as belonging to one nation of love, a hint appeared that the country is integrating into mainstream. A few days after Chretien's sensitive comment about the dead, the Canadians embarked in the House of Commons on what was intended to be a delicate discussion of Canadian unity, but they could agree on nothing. The question, unthinkable a few years ago, now looms in everyone's mind: by the turn of the century, will Canada even exist?

What used to work for Canadian nationhood was loss of the land. The peculiar demographics of a country whose population is strung out in a ribbon along its southern border has meant that no one lives for from a beautiful view. People stand in the morning wind on Signal Hill or under the infinite arch of a prairie sky or in the mist of the Queen Charlotte Islands and feel a surge of emotion that can sting the eyes.

That same intensity sweeps the country when a Canadian—any Canadian—triumphs internationally. Canadians take jubilent ownership of citizens who rise amidst an foreign field, pride of place gives surge to an ecstatic feeling.

Lord Durham, sent from England in 1838 to solve the disputes in the Canadas, found "two nations warring in

BARBARA WOODBURY/REUTERS



the basis of a single state"—the two linguistic entities of Upper and Lower Canada. He added that he saw "a struggle, not of principles, but of men." Now, it seems, there are hundreds of nations at war within Canada's borders, not only people being crushed in Quebec. The rage produced by frustration and mistrust between geographical, cultural and religious divisions is flowing out instead. Liberalism based on egalitarian rules has been discounted as an anachronism, people seriously believe that establishing a different standard of accountability for minorities, or for some groups, is progressive.

Irish immigrant descendants everywhere in Canada say so many people are not worried that Canada is a serious trouble. This well-spring of apathy or inevitable optimism lies in the face of much evidence, as Canadians bitterly flout their prejudices: the Royal Canadian Legion despises itself by hating Irish veterans in taverns and two many Quebecers seem delighted to elect a government that says it wants to separate.

The same tranquillity of the country's most cherished issues is unrelieved by their common enmity. This summer, teenagers will kill happily in love, as they always have. Families of all colors still gather for picnics and their children will play together, and old men, wearing hats, will sit comfortably on front porches. The sound of cocaine

will sleep a dreamy afternoon and rain will descend, as mild winters, the climate, that September has come is a gentle country, no serious appreciates tonight more.

What seems to have been overlooked is that everyone, including aboriginal people who migrated here over six centuries, came to Canada for the same good reason: food, shelter, and a safe place to raise children. Through all the millenniums of human habitation, the attraction to avoid power changes. What binds Canadians, despite the economic power struggles and the middle class's of economic policies that hurt our youth, is that this is a better country than most, maybe the best. It is not a country of perfect justice, but one that tries earnestly to right injustice. Canada has not been a democracy, but it does possess the only form of government under which democracy can evolve.

The rather laissez-faire notion of old, that Canadians were free, well, sure is not entirely incorrect. Canada's human rights legislation are a codified form of public conscience. For all their occasional bursts of absurdity, policies against race of harassment and racism are civil service efforts to protect vulnerable people. The Canadian position of protecting minorities with the staples of existence to get those started has not been overlooked. The stereotypes in Saskatchewan, our blue-belted forces in US (re)entering markets before boom-and-bust, energy. Chilling statistics occur, but, for the most part, Canada's immigration policy is rooted in human principles and is filling the country with hardworking people of glorious variety.

Perhaps the only visitor to Canada is civility. Fairness is there in a modest aspiration when compared with the dreams of world leadership inspired by America's shining eagle or Japan's shining sun, but some advantages would accrue a nation that becomes reserved for a patriotic duty to be laid.

Who can doubt that it is possible? A Nasser crisis always entails



Canadian people turn out by the hundreds to search for a missing child, when a river floods, everyone heaves sandbags, when miners are trapped underground, people from sea to sea feel the terrible weight of the rock and hang on news reports. That rush of sympathy comes in stubbornly from what is best within our species—the ability to feel another's pain.

Automatic rejection of what is not familiar is a primitive reflex, tied in living in a dangerous world but blunted in a neighborhood or country that seeks cohesion. Haters of outgroups, which tend usually to destroy them in others, are difficult to convert to one position, but a violent (often) important anger is in threat to public safety. An ideal of civilization as a Canadian (or a worth pursuing), not on an individual basis. The social sounds of this country will not be broken by government but, all living change occurs at a grassroots level.

What unites Canadians is infinitely more complex than any visible differences. As members of the human tribe, we are joined by the knowledge of our ancestry, by our emotional heredity, by our needs to love and be loved. The rigors of climate and a vast geography battle all Canadians equally. When it rains for a month on the West Coast and Arctic cold descends upon the rest of the country, even toddlers must develop patience and patience.

Canadian history is a place of compromise. Schools are abandoning the study of Canadian history, a most misguided folly, but analysis of the past reveals that accommodation may be the country's survival. This is what Canadians do best, sort out differences without resorting to division. The construction of a myth based on deliberate goodness is merely a historic evolution, any step, division should be rejected as unethical, contrary to the common good, bullying would be a low form of treason. The country needs a little more door holding for the stranger behind a big more jailing when trouble is both needed, some cross-cultural calm of help.

In the absence of a simple myth about itself, a nation, like a family, becomes dysfunctional. What holds families apart together is a sense of shared responsibility for one another's dignity and well-being. People tell apart when they feel an absence of protection, which is what seems to underlie much of the country's present distress. A nation can find no more solid ground so which to stand than a shared sense of the value of every citizen's worth and on the basis of what the person has contributed lately but simply because the person exists.

Canada Day should be celebrated by words of consideration not laziness and, indeed, such holidays tend to lead to commercialism. On Parliament Hill, as the fireworks crackle in the summer sky, thousands watch the Canada Day celebration will soon towards the only city, a few narrow gates in the wrought-iron fence. Most will stand for 10 minutes or more, pressed tightly together, unable to advance. The collective inability of the professional classes to move. All will be for their beds and the children there, but the crowd will be tolerant. They are Canadians, a good people who have learned over centuries of peace to meet it crisis with accommodation. Perhaps because they will again be left with one another. But, just maybe, they won't. ☐

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all department of Indian affairs and replacing it with true aboriginal self-government. "The process is really about doing better to the spirit and life of our treaties," says Manitoba Grand Chief Phil Fontaine.

Fontaine says self-government "would change our status of what the country is all about." But he shrinks from any comparisons of this peaceful, even plebiscite, negotiation for nationhood to Quebec's struggle towards independence. "We're not talking secession or independence," he insists. "We're talking about negotiating within the existing framework." After all, he smiles at the notion of native withdrawal from Canada, "how can we leave it? It's ours!"

Across the lobby, in another reception, Michael Scott talks of belonging in the language of landscape. Three discussion ops, he tells Winnipeg for Montreal to make movies at the National Film Board. But when the NFB offered him a chance to set up a Manitoba regional office, he leapt at it. "I wanted a sense of place," he says. Scott goes back to the provinces to shoot *Furley Mowat's Last in the Barren*, which won an Emmy, and stayed. With co-producer Derek Munir, he went on to film other Canadian classics, Mowat's *The Game of the Fishy Game* and Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners*. "The province is a situation for me," says Scott. "The sky and the horizon, the excitement of what's beyond that. There's a sense that anything is possible."

At the Port Garry, they are filming a handful of Hollywood producers visiting Manitoba locations. And the next day, they plan to take the group out into the countryside, through the shimmering yellow fields of sunflowers and clover to the lake at Gars, where flocks of pelicans wait.

One U.S. producer, who says they first saw "would be good for *Any City, U.S.A.*" But Scott warns. He has no interest in promoting geographical tourism for the American dream. "We want to create Canadian myths," he says.

At a table nearby, Louis Piquet claims a vacation on those supertours. He is drafting a line of merchandise for the North West Company based on the legends of the fur trade and the cowboy era. "We're talking about producing *Queen Victoria*," he says. "The myth, the romance—this's what's been missing." From coast to coast, he sees a common obsession with making it to the bush, from the teenagers to Bay Street executives scrambling into their cars every weekend in Manitoba. "Camping," Piquet remarks. "If you go to Paris, they don't even know what it is!"

In the summer of 1880, when Lady Mabel Montgomery took the CPR west by her Prince Edward Island home to Regina, she was followed by her first look at the countryside. The romantic approach to a dream of anything it has ever seen. As the colonial censored to a desert of isolation towards Duck Lake, the writer who would later promote premonitions of Canadian women with a corrupted become more like of Green Gables was only slightly charmed. "The prairie was a vast, empty, barren," she wrote in her diary. "a confidant," "I am desperately homesick." For the thousands of European homesteaders who arrived on these exposed, lonely only



by the promise of a safe haven, her sentiments were actually foreshadowed. Here, where red-walled blackbirds are among and down-bird the spring wheat crop, the tangled pattern of the country's cultural mosaic cohered.

To the north by Prince Albert, Defenestration country—the symbol of prairie alienation. To the south, on the banks of the Saskatchewan River, until the hardfields of Banquo, where Louis Riel, the Métis man who had founded Manitoba, finally met his end. There, on the grounds of the national park, Odette Follis, a guide, told the others of history. Her parents moved to Duck Lake from Montreal, where some of her late siblings later returned. Now, all the others are separated. "We try not to discuss it," she says, "because we used to get a absolutely terrible fright." One of only a handful of the hard blackbirds, known as *Protonotaria*, many of whom cultivate pea crops, which are dried and sent to Quebec for soup—like is engineered by the current headlines predicting Quebec's independence. Her alarm is spurring a special July 1 celebration at Banquo. "Other years, we've had cultural themes for Canada Day," she says. "This year, we said, 'Let's go straight for potatoes.' People come—they really eat—and it's getting sour."

On the Mashed Taro that stretches south of Calgary to the U.S. border, a cloud the color of charcoal glowers over the wheatfields. Then suddenly a rainbow arches defiantly across the grey, its lines as crisp

as paint on canvas and as surreal as the Rockies shimmering from coast to the West. As if some colonial art designer hadn't labored enough on coloring up that scene, Ian Tyson ambled into view, carrying his coffee house Pin Kew—a remnant of the cowboy movement.

From the basement of his ranch house in Leopold, Tyson has led down the tracks of his solo albums. In the process, he has become the voice of the west, both mythic and everyday real—so real that the Reform party asked him to play at its rallies and run as a candidate. He declined the latter attention. "But I voted Reform in the last election," he admits. "Enough and" still, his art is a cartoonist in all the same curious for a singer who was born in Victoria, the son of a British polo-playing ranchman. He was only when he turned 40 that Tyson decided to follow his boyhood fantasy to the foothills of the Rockies.

Locally, his inspiration was a renaissance from St-Nazaire, Que., named Ernest Dubouché—better known as Will James. Dubouché had died young, spinning tall tales of his cowboy world. "Tyson says, 'because what he was going about, he became the real thing: an outlaw and cattle rustler.' In prison, James began to write and Tyson grew up on his romantic tales of the cow world. 'He told me this bit of gold,' he says. 'All at once we read those books became the sons of Will James.'"

Tyson mounts his music is strictly original, like that of his friend Gordon Lightfoot. "Gordon's at Group of Seven," he says. "It's possible his cow on these with Tim Thomson. I'm those hills out there." The culture that Tyson celebrates runs north and south. "My American friends and fellow cowboy artists, they don't think I'm very different from them at all," he says. "But I know that I am. I'm a Canadian. We wear the same clothes and drive the same trucks, but we're different." He dreams all the disempowerment that come to mind: the Canadian health-care system, the Trans-Canada Highway and the National Hockey League. "I'm Tim Horvath dreams and all the boys you meet there who say, 'Eh?' I want to raise my back in Canada—that's the bottom line. Just quality of life."

As for what he calls "our great national pride game that goes on and on," Tyson feels like a lot of wannabes do about Quebec. He doesn't mind the French on his coast but, "but I don't want to go into some ethnic thing that goes back to the Plains at Alibon. It's just me."

Tyson, Gloria Lightfoot: Gordon Lightfoot, the Group of Seven, Tim Horvath and the Trans-Canada Highway



not." Still, he doubts the country will break up, as yet outlined by the United States. "Everybody's gonna come from Ontario, or Nova Scotia," he says. "The ties are too strong."

The Queen of Camberland eased out of the Schwartz Bay ferry docks outside Victoria and lumbered onto a sea of sanding grey as the mast lifted over the Gulf Islands. Bristle vessels might be playing the north-south route of commerce to the fishing canyons that have all developed to the Pacific coast. But as Tyson and the rest that band Canadians still run east and west—the ties of friendship and blood. I was on my way to Miyake Island and a reunion that was as geographically improbable as the country itself: a dozen friends coming together in some little dry Bay of Islands week-end to celebrate a second 30th birthday. Politely, some of us had nothing in common, but all had lately crossed the provinces. We had been brought together years earlier by an island cottage on Ontario's Cayuga Lake. And now, a few years later, we were in a wooded island that had been so to the Pacific—what was our childhood home, Lake West.

Jessie's Cite-O'Hara, a Franco-Ontarian who now lives in Ottawa, where she hosts the drama for the new electronic highway, had just flown in from Mexico, which reminded her of her home town, North Bay. Both others were suggesting to think their ways to new technology to replace their old ways and find their backs and both were listening with an enthusiastic new generation of transplants. Yolande Grist, a Quebecois who teaches at the University of Ottawa, blamed the national misunderstanding on short-term memory—an ignorance of shared history. "This is a country that is continuing to be born," she says. "If you don't know where you're born, you can't understand where you are and why you're fighting the hell."

On a deserted dining table, Terry Glavin, a B.C. writer, chided out of his stall and scolded the richness of the country's suburban regionalism. He has spent his career writing about Fraser Valley fishermen and loggers. "Forestry, fishing—this's what we're all about out here," he says. Now, both have become bitterly polarized battlegrounds, as he knows too well. After sitting with statistical tabernacles in the salmon wars, tensions with his golf partner neighbors given us think that two years ago he named his family off their house on Miyake Island. But he worries that as the complexities of the province changes, many British Columbians are losing touch with their roots. "People have become alienated about their own cultural heritage," he says. "Racialized identity has built the central divide."

All the talk about B.C. separatism—withdrawal into the north of borderless Pacific. "Europeans" that California moved in Ernest Calverton produced 16 poems ago—Glen du Maurier as a much better poet. "We sing the hymns all the time," he scoffs. "Centuries, the people I know believe very strongly in this idea of Canada. It's not cerebral, it's visceral—more an affair of the heart." As he points out, the innumerable constitutional sessions every year with no end to set the nation's weaknesses but its strength, a compelling addition focus. "The one great thing that has been on together in trying to make Quebec feel part of the family," he says. "If we're not doing that any more, if we don't have this power and understanding obsession, then what are we about?" □

IN SEARCH OF UNITY

A new poll reveals a love of country and a mood of compromise

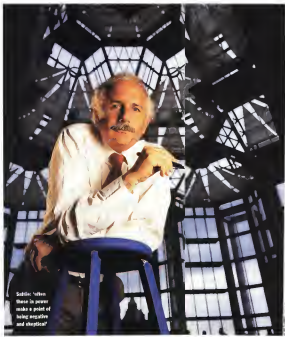
BY VICTOR DWYER



Open the newspaper, turn on the television, meet the neighbors for a summer barbecue and let the conversation unfold: once the latest on O.J. Simpson is exhausted, the talk may actually turn to the fate of Canada, and the prognosis is often grim. Reminded with tales of angry debates on Parliament Hill, public exchanges between provincial and federal leaders, and polls showing a lopsided victory for the Parti Québécois in a fall election, Canadians cannot be blamed for thinking that the country is tilting perilously towards dissolution. But according to a new Maclean's/Decima poll, that is certainly not what people want. Conducted between June 9 and 15, the poll of 1,000 Canadians—including 557 Quebecers, 222 of them independent—reveals a deep love of country shared across the nation, with 94 per cent of respondents agreeing that Canada is the best country in the world in which to live. Among Quebecers, the figure is a stunning 80 per cent—with 45 per cent of those confining their comment only to Canada.

And although these polls lacked a firm consensus as to what it is that unites the country, they clearly see hope for genuine political solutions to the problems that currently divide it. More than two-thirds of Canadians—including about three-quarters of Quebecers—say they would welcome a more decentralized nation, in which all provinces are given more authority to run their own affairs. If that would keep Quebec in Canada, in fact, those as Quebec prefer that option to one in which they would have greater powers than the other provinces. Says Decima executive vice-president Christopher Kelly: "The commitment to Canada is there, and so is the determination to keep it together."

Equally telling, almost two-thirds of those living outside Quebec say they would be either "half" or "somewhat" in favor of that province were to secede. That figure, says Kelly, represents "a hard reaching out." Reinforced as the prospect of seceding their country dissolves, those polled also demonstrated a deep desire along with the leaders of their political leaders to reflect the love of country that Canadians feel. Roughly two-thirds blame politicians for pushing the divisive issue of Quebec into the spotlight, and about the same number agree that it is either the ineptitude of politicians, or the public's lack of



Sabbies: often these in power make a point of being negative and skeptical

that is there, that stands in the way of that issue's resolution. And that figure jumps almost three-quarters in Quebec. "We are being betrayed by people who don't have a vision of the country," says Ottawa-based author and broadcaster Lester Laflamme, one of several Canadians who spoke with *Maclean's* about the issues raised by the poll. Adds Laflamme: "Politicians are subverting the corpse of a place we call home. And a people known for our ability to compromise, we in essence want that this land we love may cease to be."

At the same time as the poll showed a mood of compromise and reconciliation, it provided only partial clues about what is keeping the country together. When asked to volunteer words or phrases that describe Canada, only a quarter offered the same one: "free." And when specifically asked to state what "most ties us together as a nation," they had an even harder time agreeing: the top response—given by seven per cent—was the decidedly "laid-back" "our spirit of government." About one-quarter had no opinion on the matter at all. Only when they were offered specific suggestions did these polled come to mislabeled agreement, with health care and hockey topping the list.

That failure to rally around a national, unifying symbol is a longstanding Canadian trait. Archived Monte Sillis, creator of the Habitat village at Montreuil's Expo 67 and the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, vividly recalls the day that several members of a cabinet committee resisted his ambitious plans for the gallery. "Some said they preferred a more modest, and what they saw as therefore more Canadian, alternative," says Sillis, whose cathedral-like vision finally prevailed. "Too often, there is power more a product of being negative and skeptical about our cohesiveness for Canada."

That attitude, critics say, flourished during a decade of Conservative rule in which many of the controversial parts of the national dream were dismantled in the name of deficit reduction: the country's monumental rail lines cut back, the CEC dismantled and Petro-Canada privatized. Current leaders, many insist, were determined to keep up the pace. Even after a record-setting Canadian medal haul at the 1994 Winter Olympics in Norway, federal officials are now contemplating pulling off funding to several amateur sports. "It's sort of unbelievable," says Canadian Olympic Association vice-president Bob Hulseweh. "We did something that pulls us all together, and all of a sudden it is too expensive to keep alive."

Provenly, Canadians are united in recognizing what divides them: about half put separatism and bilingualism at the top of their list. And slightly more Canadians—about two in five—are as con-

THE THINGS THAT TIE US TOGETHER

	Index	Rest of Canada
Health-care system	70%	75%
Hockey	62	70
National history	53	66
Geography	53	61
CAN/United-Canada	51	61
Safety	50	64
Tolerance of different races	49	62
Religion and culture	45	58
Willingness	40	38
Fear of United States	28	30

CANADA IS THE WORLD'S BEST COUNTRY TO LIVE IN

	Index	Rest of Canada
Strongly agree	31%	50%
Agree	59	41
Disagree	7	3
Strongly disagree	2	1

CANADA IS THE BEST? OR JUST WHERE YOU LIVE?

	Index	Rest of Canada
All of Canada	63%	77%
Just the area where you live	16	17
Parts of Canada	1	6

YOUR VIEW OF CANADA TODAY

	Index	Rest of Canada
A just between two rivaling groups	48%	35%
A relatively among 10 equal partners	51	63
No opinion	4	2

FEELINGS IF QUEBEC WERE TO SEPARATE

	Index	Rest of Canada
Self-identified	48%	64%

voiced now as during the heated debate preceding the 1992 vote on the Charlottetown accord that Quebec will likely separate within two years. "A lot of people here already think of Quebec as their country," says Montreal playwright Daniel Frenaux, whose works include *don't you know* (Dunham Books) which compares Quebec's position in Canada to that of the Republics of Ireland in Northern Ireland. "In fact, some days it is as if you're in Britain in Canada, and I look at the country on the streets."

Still, whatever angers the rest of Canada might be feeling at the prospect of an independent Quebec, there appears to be a growing awareness—widely shared in a minority—of two Quebecers who are willing to conceive an agreement made by many Quebecers that Quebec played a pivotal role in the birth of the nation. In a 1989 poll, only about one-quarter of those outside Quebec agreed with the notion that Canada is "a pact between two hostile groups, English and French," rather than a country of 50 provinces. Although that figure jumped in nearly six fold in the relative calm of 1993, it has now settled, despite the current fears about Quebec's secession, at 35 per cent. "We all like to think we're as different as the next province," says Newfoundland justice Christopher Pratt. "But it's clear from all that noise of an acknowledgment that our place in our history makes Quebec a different kind of different."

However unique Quebec's role in Canadian history, only about one in five of those living outside its boundaries are willing to grant it special powers as a condition of keeping it part of Canada's future. New Brunswick novelist David Adams Richards expresses the most frustration felt by those who would be saddened by Quebec's secession—but who see no way to prevent it, as they see it as inevitable. "I love Quebec and I hope to God Quebec doesn't go, but I'm weary of being left hostages," says Richards. "Eventually, you have to say, OK, go. I wish so much you could stay, but you better go."

If Quebec does leave, Canadians are aware about the fate of the Canada that would remain. "We would remain a 35 per cent—essentially a strong, united country." Of course, even if the rest of Canada stays together, it is unclear to what extent it would be the same country at all. "Would what we were left with really be Canada?" asks Pratt. "Isn't Canada the Maple Leaf and the Plover de-l'ye? Isn't Canada the prairie banner and the lobster? If Quebec leaves us, there will be Quebec, and there will be something else—and that something else will not be the Canada with which we are currently familiar."

But if Canadian hearts are bifurcated, there is hope that their passions may remain so. In fact, many of those polled see wadeable solutions for accommodating the province's demands. While 10 per cent of those living outside Quebec said they would not agree to giving that province special status, about two-thirds find the idea of an across-the-board form



**SPECIAL
ISSUE**

of power sharing in which all provinces would be given a greater role in their own affairs. Even Quebecers seem to see the latter view as a more viable one, while 20 per cent would say in Confederation if Quebec were given special status, more than three-quarters could live with the across-the-board option. "I think most of us in Quebec would like to stay in Canada," says Frenaux. "It is only when politicians outside Quebec start to threaten us with infiltration for believing that it is our minds and, as reality, we become oppressed. Then, we get backed into a psychological corner from which separation is the only horrible exit."

The pitch at the current debate could easily create that situation. This is, after all, a rare point of consensus in which the official Opposition leader, the "New Quebecers" Laurent Fleury, is vowing to take Quebec out of Canada, and newly powerful Reform Leader Preston Manning is instantly opposing him. With both sides digging in their heels, says Fleury, the result could be "a sort of self-building distance, where the temperatures keep rising, and irreconcilable things suddenly happen that we are really involved." Others detect as do almost unequivocal fervor in many current politicians "Especially at the extremes," says McGill political philosophy professor Charles Taylor, "politicians are treating the issue of secession like a war game, like a war game about which, they claim, there can be no room for compromise."

Still, many analysts feel that the rhetoric will stop only when English-Canadianers begin to feel comfortable with their own citizenship—with their role as the backbone and gradient of their own society. Montreal novelist Mel Housheer, who has lived in both English and French Canada since emigrating from Trinidad in 1953, says that English-Canadianers should see in Quebec an example—rather than a threat—of the importance of coexisting roles in their own society. "I see a lot of people who are not only their detractors, but also their creators," he says. "Although English Canada's language is clearly not under threat, he adds, two decades of federal government policy aimed at promoting a "vertical mosaic" of multiculturalism has left it "unable to do away a healthy and united sense of itself." As has just returned back, Jennifer English Canada, University of British Columbia political science professor Philip Barak takes the argument one step further. "Why the Charlottetown accord could never have worked," says Barak, "was that there was something in them for the separate provinces, and for Quebec and for the aboriginals, but not for English Canada as such." The reason, says Barak: "We were fighting—and we continue to fight—on constitutional questions of political rights, but were ignoring a more important issue, that of securing a safe space for our identity as English Canadians." Like Woodsworth, Barak says that



Kigoma: 'In a world of intolerance, we have shown ourselves to be uncommonly tolerant'

Canadians outside of Quebec "have to define a fundamental loyalty to life here rather than to the thousand and one places people may have come from." When they do that, he adds, they will not only have an easier time defining what their country means to them, "they will also find a greater comfort in acknowledging the choices that French Canada is distinct in itself—and that what in many ways, are two

visions can live peacefully as one state."

In fact, the bluster of their leaders notwithstanding, Canadians show an unshared awareness that they possess the attributes needed to keep the country together. Although the poll showed that there is little agreement on the exact words that describe Canadians, all of the top 10 answers were positive ones words like "free" and "good" and "friendly." However, several top answers were hope in that national compass. "Have it's very little known that the greatness of Canadians lies in how good they are to each other, how kind they are to a world of intolerance, we have shown ourselves to be uncommonly tolerant. Now, we must build on that."

Solfer agrees that the alternative will mean "all parts of Canada becoming more provincial, less open to the world, less cooperative and less creative." And he predicts that in a Quebec that will be the hardest of all. "It will go through decades of intense resistance," says Solfer, "and that is not good for cultural development." But others are confident that Canadians will not take that road. "If you really love something, no matter the cost worth you use to describe it, you don't trust it," says LaFren. "You respect it, and you get to know it better, and you make room for it." At a time when many other nations appear intent on tearing themselves apart, there is not only promise in that notion, but wisdom as well. □

The Montreal Mirror poll of 1,000 Canadians made conducted from Feb. 13, 1994, has a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points. 20 answers of 20. Most of the answers were for the poll, not as a guess.

AT THE MOMENT, WHO IS RAISING THE ISSUE OF QUEBEC'S PLACE IN CANADA?

	Index	Out of 100
Average people in Quebec	9%	4%
Average Canadians	4	2
Quebec politicians	33	57
Federal politicians	21	17
Business and community leaders in Quebec	0	4
The media	10	18

WHY IS QUEBEC'S FUTURE IN CANADA STILL UNRESOLVED?

	Index	Out of 100
The failure of politicians to develop a solution that satisfies all Canadians	41%	38%
The unwillingness of Quebecers to accept a solution	18	29
The unwillingness of Canadians outside of Quebec to accept a solution	8	6
The failure of failure to win support from all sectors of society	32	25

LIKELIHOOD OF QUEBEC SEPARATING IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS

	Index	Out of 100
Very likely	12%	8%
Domestically likely	35	32
Not very likely	35	30
Not likely at all	17	21

WHAT SHOULD RELATIONS BE IF QUEBEC SEPARATES?

	Index	Out of 100
Forget past, go forward with good relations	64%	73%
Put energy that has been lost	13	25

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CELEBRATION ANXIETY

In the summer of political discontent, the major players face off over the future

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH



Somewhere beyond the gateway to hell, many Canadians probably suspect there is a more sinister reality to the constitutional future of Canada. Its shores are lined with thick academic studies and the bad guys of countless court commissions and provincial task forces. From Bill Bracken, the *Spirit* Commissioner, Delors-Congers, Bonafini-Godwin and the Allaire Report, to recall just a few whose names now are confounded to constitutional history. Etched in the walls are the gloomy words of all who have studied Canada since its founding in 1867, and found it wanting. A single quote "God has made Canada one of those nations which cannot be conquered and cannot be destroyed except by herself" observed Norman Angell, a leading British economist. He said so in 1922. And in the century at the roots from hell, chairman, member and endlessly about such topics as the northward-bound, close to the Constitution and Canada's identity—and lack of same—are constitutional lawyers, politicians, academics, journalists, pollsters and representatives of sophisticated groups.

It is late June, 1994. Through the windows of Prime Minister Jean Chretien's second-floor Parliament Hill office, the sun shines high and brilliant in a cloudless Ottawa sky. The weather in dry and absolutely hot—a rare occurrence in the city's weather cycle. Inside the office, Chretien's business mood matches the welcoming spirit of the day. He has come in for an interview wearing a Vancouver Canucks hockey jersey, surrounded by team players, and eventually leaves clanking a handful of his own autographed books and photographs destined for all manners, reportedly, and predictable, Chretien voters not matter on the future of Canada—a country which he describes as "a nation looking for problems." Ordinary Canadians and all provinces, he insists, "know what they are and what they want to continue to be. Canadian."

It only is mere so easy. But despite Chretien's almost-entire view not to talk about the country's constitutional future, the debate moves inexorably on, driven by forces seemingly beyond national control. It is not that Quebec's Premier Jacques Parizeau denouncing federalism and threatening to secede from the union has any secret sympathy for Quebec; then it is a federal party leader (Proton Manning) offering courtesy views of the representatives. Or Parti Quebecois leader Jacques Parizeau (long the former Or Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow) doing the latter. And so on. And with the province last week from Bonafini the leader of the *Progressive Conservative* and



Bonafini the debate moves inexorably on

spread the settler stamping for independence, the evening news casts previous little prospect of relief.

These are among the people Chretien asked today: "who there are constitutional debate because it keeps them so busy." They are a revolving cast: the real sufferers of eternal discussion are Canadians accustomed to listen.

To talk or not to talk about the issue? That question may divide Chretien even more than the traditional debate between Quebecers and the rest of the country. Some such as Chretien and Quebec Premier Daniel Johnson, say they would rather never debate Quebec's sovereignty again. Others, such as Bonafini and, recently, Manning, seem frustrated by the subject and their conflicting views of its potential major questions. The two main says

Proton Manning, Conservative Party leader Jean Chretien, "see the other eyes of each other without the other could not see." In the *Maclean's/Decima* poll, Chretien was the person whose views were closest to the most important in all regions—except in Quebec, where he trailed Bonafini by seven points. Manning was in a tight race with Chretien in British Columbia. Chretien, though, beat all others in all regions when respondents were asked to pick the best leader in the current debate.

Somewhere in the middle, provincial politicians—such as Ontario Premier Bob Rae—are trying to add the focus to other issues. Rae does so with good reason. But previous, since regarded as the current political scene of the federation, now writes with the reality of passing \$10 billion more a year to the rest of Canada than it receives. "The old days of talking about the country's future in terms of Quebec and the rest of the country are gone," says Rae. "Ontario, like every other region of Canada, has new and specific concerns that must be addressed." The old idea of a national economy is dead.

And so it is as an eye of international trade, north-south trading bloc between Canada and the United States and a powerful developing sector of regionalism. The old rules no

longer apply, new ones have yet to be drafted. But the immediate problem, as a case of supposed economic recovery, is that such progress appears slowed or even stalled by a real estate crisis—whether or not Canadians want to talk about it. Interest rates are rising the value of the dollar is falling and mortgage interest investors in Europe must have been dumping Canadian bonds as quickly as they could find buyers. At least part of the reason, according to most recent analysis, is foreign investors' concerns over the country's future. Another concern is Canada's apparent unwillingness to control its long-term debt, which now totals more than \$600 billion. "The government seems to have neglected to take \$10 to \$15 billion deficits," says Manning. But both he and some Liberals already suspect that Prime Minister Paul Martin's second budget this fall—which was supposed to contain more convincing measures than the first—will be collected out of fear of angering Quebec voters who may be preparing for a referendum. Meanwhile, the Liberals privately acknowledge, Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy likes and counts within the party to delay planned social program reforms and cuts, for similar reasons. Both these delays would only irritate voters.

The news gets worse. Across Canada, virtually everyone but members of the Quebec Liberal party seems to have given up on its chances at winning the upcoming provincial election, expected to be called in July for late September at the latest. "It is a little frustrating," concedes John Parizeau, the premier of the Liberal campaign committee. "In four years I don't think anyone should a referendum before you have even begun the campaign that will decide the election—and which could ensure that the referendum will never take place." After provincial Liberals win, the debate over sovereignty would be not just a dead end. And a Liberal win is still a possibility: the party has closed the gap recently with the Parti Quebecois in the polls and may be in a better shape to campaign the election than many people outside the province believe. But even Parizeau will say only that "it doesn't look as hopeless as some people thought several months ago."

Still, the Parti Quebecois stood at 50 per cent support in a *Maclean's/Le Press* poll released on Saturday, compared with 45 per cent for the Liberals. But consistent with past surveys, 58 per cent said they would vote to keep Quebec in Canada while 41 per cent opted for independence. Clearly, many Quebecers want the PQ to discontinue sovereignty—so it did in the 1976 campaign—and stress its commitment to good government. That is not Jacques Parizeau's plan. Rather, the PQ leader says he will keep an election win as a mandate to begin negotiating

MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL

WHOSE VIEWS ON QUEBEC ARE CLOSEST TO YOUR OWN?

	British Columbia	Alberta	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic provinces
Prime Minister Jean Chretien	43%	26%	46%	60%	22%	40%
Quebec Leader Parizeau	12	27	23	6	1	6
Blair Quebecois Leader Lucien Bouchard	12	7	4	6	25	11
Your provincial premier	6	6	6	3	5	6
Parti Quebecois leader Jacques Parizeau	4	0	1	2	12	4
Progressive Conservative leader Jean Chretien	4	4	1	4	5	6
None of the above	12	16	6	6	15	12
No opinion	6	7	6	6	3	6

WHO WOULD PROVIDE THE BEST LEADERSHIP FOR CANADA AT THIS TIME?

	British Columbia	Alberta	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic provinces
Jean Chretien	33%	28%	29%	47%	18%	31%
Prime Minister	7	14	15	5	0	5
Blair Quebecois Leader Lucien Bouchard	6	7	8	5	4	4
Inte Chretien	5	7	2	4	7	7
Lucien Bouchard	4	0	1	0	14	0
Ralph Klein	2	2	6	0	0	0
Jacques Parizeau	1	0	0	0	4	0
Clayton Kopp	1	0	1	0	0	4
Me	1	1	1	0	1	2
Kim Campbell	1	0	1	0	1	0
Other	10	15	6	10	10	12
No one	7	7	5	6	5	4
Don't know	22	15	22	15	30	30

sovereignty with the federal government. He would appoint cabinet members whose sole mission would be to conduct such negotiations, and, he said recently, the PQ would also challenge Ottawa head-on by introducing into some of its more important legislation a clause that would require the federal government to consult with the province before any such legislation is passed.

In fact, the more such work that Parson has already cited is indicative of just how risky and unsteady that ideological battle could be—and how little it would ultimately have to do with the people it is supposed to serve. As it stands now, Parson has said he would build a new ferry to link the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with Quebec mainland. That would be done without waiting for federal approval—such as necessary under Quebec law regarding any navigation in the Gulf. But, Parson noted, the new would supply immediate jobs to the Quebec government-owned MLD. These ships would be in the Quebec City area, and help the island's economy by providing better access to the mainland. And, as PQ strategists suggest, the federal government would find the impossible situation of either agreeing Quebec by blocking the proposal, or alienating the rest of Canada by allowing a deliberate violation.

But many observers say that Parson's proposed only grows out of the real problem faced by Magdalen Islands fishermen: rather than building a new link to Quebec's Gaspe peninsula, they would rather replace the battered 30-year-old ferry that now provides service between the Magdalen and Gaspe P.E.I. The reason, Magdalen Islander John L. Lefebvre says, is that the province has been slow to respond to export their lobster catch. It takes five hours to ship lobster to Boston from P.E.I., but more than 11 from the Gaspé. "That means they would be spoiled when they arrive," says Patrick Gagné, the Liberal MP who represents the area. "So Mr. Parson's grand plan would ignore the link the islanders need, and give them one they don't—in the name of the greater glory of Quebec."

Such incidents make it both tempting and easy to blame politicians exclusively for Confederation problems—weak, as the Magdalen/Decima port industries, many Canadians do precisely that. Left to their own devices in a race to know each other and lived on political rhetoric, conventional wisdom suggests that all Confederation would revert to being the happy and unified people they really were to be. But that view ignores the real and legitimate differences that exist between individual Canadians in different parts of the country. Sometimes, thoughtful and compassionate Canadians turn the country and come back much more knowledgeable, but no more certain that it will ever be possible to reach a consensus civil solutions that all Canadians can live with.

Michel Lacombe is one such man. A 25-year-old native of Trois-Rivières, Que., now completing a master's degree in political science at Quebec City's Laval University, he took a summer job two years ago in Alberta with the two goals of seeing something at the rest of the country and improving his English. He returned again last summer, and while he was there, conducted an informal poll of 100 people to evaluate their views of Quebec. His nonconfrontational survey, he said, showed him that "nobody in Quebec has ever put the immigration into a referendum that they believe would be necessary to not to be—and that some Quebecers believe there to be."

Instead, Lacombe found a wide variety of opinions that ranged, he said, from a small minority who "said that should stay in Quebec" to a large number who "generally like and welcome Quebecers, and don't support



about our importance to Canada. They would be very unhappy if we voted for independence." Partly as a result, Lacombe says he would be "very happy" if the were able to find a job outside Quebec and inside Canada after graduation.

Then there is Norman Whynne, a 35-year-old real estate agent in Malabar Bay, N.S. In his early 30s, he got to know Quebecers when he spent parts of four summers in Quebec City while travelling on the St. Lawrence as part of the crew of Nova Scotia's goodwill ambassador the *Rimous*. The experience, he says, was enough to show him that "beyond the bluster of all the politicians, there was a lot of real hard, strong people that I developed an affection for." His overriding constitutional sentiment is that "if I'll do a decent skunk we had a chance to put all this behind us as a people of times in the 1980s. We missed the opportunity, and now it looks like it will be here one way or another forever."

That gloomy prospect is, indeed, the most likely reality, despite Charbon's bravado with that it can be no. Consider the alternatives, even if Quebec Liberals were an elected cabinet, as Johnson has said that he will "eventually" want to reopen constitutional talks, and present Quebec's "traditional demands." Another possibility is a PQ election win followed by a difficult on the sovereignty issue. Although the PQ would then be obliged to put such sovereignty as an issue for the rest of its mandate, sensibilities in Quebec would be fragile, and even less likely Quebecers would react negatively to suggestions from the rest of Canada that they should now just make traditional constitutional demands.

The final prospect, of course, would be a PQ election win, followed by a Yes vote in the referendum. But even that would mark only a beginning of a new chapter, rather than a final end, to the longstanding debate over Quebec's relations in or outside Canada. Some immediate questions would then be asked. Among them: would the federal government recognize the results if it could like Canada. After the discussion of the Constitution was reopened in 1986, they started to talk in terms of bargaining, but very few of them would be put out. If the strong question is asked, "Do you want to separate from Canada and form an independent country?" they would say "No."

Macdonald's *Everybody wants to meet you* is not about much more than the opportunity to talk about the future. Charbon's *Talk about Canada* is the first I don't believe you make the same problems of a system in changing the Constitution. Even if you have a broad consensus, you will not create jobs. I am not talking the road of the nation. Macdonald's that at some point there is going to have to be discussion.

Charbon: Why? Oh, yes, in 1997. There is in the Constitution a provision that we have to talk about the amending formula [by then]. So we will have to meet that morning and talk on either if they want to give this amending formula, yes, yes or no. Macdonald's that will be the first time you would talk about the Constitution?

THE PRIME MINISTER MAKES HIS CASE

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien was behind the scenes, but did not prevent his own press from presenting an overview of the state of the nation on the eve of the 1998 anniversary and a long-term vision for Quebec's future. He spoke at an interview with *Editorial Board* and *Editorial Board* after an interview with *Editorial Board*.

Chrétien: When we asked Canadians to a full-scale debate about the state of the country together, there was no consensus.

Chrétien: It's a question of attitude, a state of mind. Sometimes you find yourself on the lake and suddenly you feel good. It is because of the trees of the which? It's because of the whole environment. When you feel happy, you don't analyze, you accept it. It's usually easier to explain your unhappiness. I think the Canadian people are very comfortable being Canadians. They ask questions, you start to think what could make it better and then when you start to think negatively.

Macdonald: One of the findings of the poll is that a strong majority of Canadians not only like Canada as the best country in the world, but say that it is the case because of the entire country, not just the region they live in. Your response?

Chrétien: It's always been in my belief that the people of Quebec like Canada. After the discussion of the Constitution was reopened in 1986, they started to talk in terms of bargaining, but very few of them would be put out. If the strong question is asked, "Do you want to separate from Canada and form an independent country?" they would say "No."

Macdonald: Everybody wants to meet you is not about much more than the opportunity to talk about the future.

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Chrétien: I have no choice. I am a law-abiding citizen. The law forces me to have a meeting, so I would have a meeting. Macdonald: But even as you concentrate on the economy and the Quebec economy seems to be causing problems for the economy.

Chrétien: That's why I am saying political stability is needed. It is very disturbing that people should, sometimes, think there is a problem here when the polls indicate that there isn't.

Macdonald: What would be an appropriate

of these changes, it will cause. People would it. But you can't change a meeting that has existed for years. There are these federal/provincial meetings that never stop. Some people make a career out of the Constitution [Quebec constitutional expert] Louis Bouché was saying now because he doesn't have a Constitution to deal with. I could name a few anglophone professors who made quite a killing on it. When you are a barrister, the more implications you have, the bigger your pay is and the bigger that you are. There's a lot



Measuring: many Canadians have problems with the nation's words



Chrétien: There is one or Quebec

Chrétien: Sometimes I hear the word to use that the people as demand. Mr. Bouché has to use the word 'separation' in the United States to make sure that the Americans understand his position. But he doesn't want to use that word.

Macdonald: There are two people. They say I put that in a speech. They say I will be devoted with the word 'separation' saying.

Macdonald: How do you know Canada making in the future—strong central government or more authority to the provinces?

Chrétien: In the next 30 or 35 years, there will be a clarification of some of the roles of government. That will take a long time to achieve. Everybody has come to the job that we should look at what can do the best at the cheapest cost, and not duplicate it. I would like to clarify many

Chrétien: We always have our belief that the people of Quebec like Canada.

at this going on. And politicians tend to carry the flag for the two main parties they represent. But there is a need for clarification.

Macdonald: How much has your own role of the federal government changed since you became Prime Minister?

Chrétien: Not much. So far, it hasn't changed as much as I expected it to be. It's not easy. But I thought it would be tougher. I think I have a good cabinet, and a good citizen. People understand trust and honesty and integrity are part of the system. We are not feeling the pressure that existed before. And the mood of the country is much better.

Macdonald: The financial community seems to want you to be tougher.

Chrétien: I know. Stockholders want a zero deficit. They must have a zero deficit, they must have no debt as well, so they would complain.

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VIEWPOINTS

Regional differences affect attitudes towards Canada

Coastal detachment

Memo to: The rest of Canada
From: British Columbia
Message: Everybody takes a Vulture.



OK, in deference to the *Weeklies*, make that a *Prozac* that the advice applies as aptly to the current shenanigans over British Columbia's supposed environmental credentials as it did when Aislinn, the brilliant Montreal cartoonist, put a tin of Prozac in the mouth of Pierre Levesque after he led the Parti Québécois to power for the first time in November, 1995. Indeed, rather more aptly. Eighteen years after Levesque's victory, an altogether more serious game of separatism may be on the verge of taking control of Quebec's National Assembly. In British Columbia in 1994, by contrast, not even those working the hardest to fix the fibres of a new relationship with the American neighbours are eager to burn their Maple Leaf flag—in place along the Stars and Stripes. "Bladdy," laughs Marisa Bolanos, executive director of the pro-old Canada Institute, a private Vancouver think tank dedicated to increasing ties between Western Canada and its U.S. neighbors in the Pacific Northwest

"This whole notion of sovereignty is what we're about at all. It's not out there." It is a notion with considerable strength in April, when former B.C. MHA Gordon Wilson caught Central Canadian attention when he declared that "British Columbia may no longer be served by remaining in the Canadian Confederation." The following month, federal Opposition Leader Jean Charest (who was widely reported to have moved recently to a business group that if Quebec leaves Canada, British Columbia could end up in the arms of the United States) in statement he later denied making. And then in June, former B.C. Liberal leader Gordon Gibson travelled to Montreal to promote his new book, *Place d'ici: The Future of Our Part of Canada*, in which he asserts that British Columbia may "one day debate a question that would have been totally unthinkable a few years ago, namely, 'If Quebec goes, should we go too?'"

But in 5.5 million British Columbians approached their 29th anniversary as Canada—and the country's 12th birthday—the question, surely, was not the first thing on many minds. There were simply better things to think about. There are good times on the Golden Milestone, in the chance defined by the West Coast a century ago. Construction cranes loom in the background over the Lower Mainland, stretches between Bellingham Bay and the world's most luxurious ocean town are far away in Vancouver's harbor. A booming economy has enabled British Columbians with a new measure of self-confidence, even as some of them discover new areas of common interest with the neighbors to the south.

Others, meanwhile, have not gotten any closer over the years. From a distance of 3,500 km, its world view still all too western slant. And plenty for many residents of this vibrant and ambitious province, the idea of detaching—yet again—Quebec's place in the country is an unwelcome distraction from the annual round of things making most eyes and tongues for strategy.

But Confederation's enemies hardly amount, in B.C. eyes at least, to anything like grassroots firestorm. Beyond British Columbians surveyed in the latest Melnick/Denisson poll were, in fact, more likely by a considerable margin than any other Canadians to agree strongly with the proposition that "Canada is the best country in the world in which to live." That being so, they had no wish to break it up. To the contrary, most British Columbians would clearly be rather to see Quebec and their own province both remain part of a united Canada. What they do share, however, is what Vancouver talk show host Rick Moran calls an "intriguing" with new-reviving constitutional debate. "We would rather see Quebec go," Moran asserts, "than endure endless more years of this nonsense."

But if there is little taste in these parts for more eye-glazing constitutional debate, there is even less for political issues with the United States. That is so despite growing levels of contact with neighboring states and increasing talk of "Canconia"—an evermore name for the region on both sides of the border, derived from a range of associations stretching from British Columbia to California.

The contacts, especially with Washington, are partly social. Seattle, a three-hour drive to the south, is a favorite Vancouver weekend getaway spot, to the extent that Vancouver magazine devoted its June cover story to an affectionate reminiscence of the road. When baseball's American League Seattle Mariners appear at home, as many as a fifth of the seats at the Kingdome are occupied by Canadian. Meanwhile, the jockeyed alternative music scene frequently appears in Vancouver's *weekend* column.

Business contacts are also multiplying. Two years ago, a consortium of Vancouver investors was formed to help Seattle keep the then-problem Mariners in that city. This year, the Seattle-based MacLean family, owners of the largest telephone company in North America, returned the favor by joining a syndicate that acquired National Basketball Association franchise for Vancouver. Seattle already has one, as does Portland. One Canadian environmental firm, meanwhile, have found work cleaning up nuclear waste in Washington state; other firms, dedicated to computer software, have found clients with Redmond, Wash.-based giant Microsoft Corp. The trend towards economic cross-fertilization is also plain in the business leaders in Seattle and Vancouver proposing to launch a joint bid for the 2004 Summer Olympics. "It could be made as a Canadian bid," suggests Vancouver business consultant Bill Wootton, one of those promoting the idea. "Neither country would take a professional position. It would be a fifty-fifty split of events."

That happyface is popular, at least. Canadians embrace a turbulent east-west trade with more curiosity and interest in the U.S. than they ever widely. At its most modest, it refers only to the burgeoning number of expatriate growth from Portland to Vancouver. At its most inclusive, the state has been applied to vast expanses of the continent excluding Alberta as well as British Columbia, Washington, Alaska, Idaho, Montana and Oregon. While these larger borders have 30 mil-

lion people with a combined GNP of more than \$400 billion, enough to rank in the world's top 10 economies. "Working together," argues John Miller, spokesman for a Seattle think tank that promotes Canadian economic co-operation, "we can have a bigger pie."

Beyond that, the idea of an altogether new Canadian nation, a sort of Shogun-like ally across in the shadow of the coastal mountains, does hold a certain allure. There is a region where dropping out of society has a long and honored tradition, an honored corner of the border. "It is a land of a dream," says Matt "something you think about, but should happen." There is even a flag, a rather busy banner emblazoned with mountains and oodles, a trillium, the provincial flower of Ontario. But reality strikes: "Everybody knows it can't happen," the rules book declares. "The United States isn't about to give up sovereignty over Washington, Oregon and Alaska."

Nor are Canada's battered residents quick to give up old habits of mutual reserve, not to any occasional suspicion. Five years after the Pacific North West Economic Region, an association of Canadian and American legislators and business people, identified 23 economic areas where regional co-operation was possible, with less than 100 in total. And despite several recent joint undertakings in scientific facilities and better transportation links, there is little sign that the pace will accelerate.



Bolanos, Vancouver at dusk (opposite) tells of a three-hour 'Canconia' drive, not more a movement for independence.

In fact, the same shared geography that Canada's proponents argue serves as a common sense equally often serves as a divide. "We are not natural partners," agrees Michael Walker, executive director of Vancouver's conservative Fraser

Institute. "We are natural competitors." That is evident in several ongoing disputes between British Columbia and its American neighbors. In one case, the failure to resolve an argument last month over U.S. fishing rights in waters spawned in B.C. rivers led federal Fisheries Minister John Tully to impose a punitive \$2.5M on each American vessel travelling through Canadian waters. Canadian fishermen, who accuse their U.S. counterparts of squandering their own fish stocks, heavily pressured the top federal commercial fisheries minister Brown, in a statement that looks poorly for the future of regional co-operation. "The good neighbor policy isn't working any more."

Those most seriously generating chatter about a realistic future while freely disavow any further ambitions. "Wildcat," declares Roger Dodd, a former Canadian diplomat who now executive director of the bi-national association of legislators, "was the slightest interest in a political movement. The Canadians are quite happy to go on being Canadians, the Americans are happy to be Americans."

Besides, on the booming West Coast, America is no longer the

provinces—to give Quebec's future much thought. "What would happen in this province is a hypothetical question," says Nova Scotia Premier John Savage. "I refuse to contemplate a Canada without Quebec." Echoes New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna. "At this point, I don't think it's the slightest bit helpful to consider that type of scenario."

The economic impact of secession would be the most obvious. A seceding Canadian dollar would drive up the cost of imported goods throughout Canada. But the Maritime provinces would grow exponentially if Quebec independence were to lead other provinces to question their willingness, or ability, to keep shovelling billions in transfer payments into how-not-now. In fact, according to estimates by the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, an immediate halt to transfer payments would reduce income levels on a range running from 20 per cent

in Nova Scotia to 36 per cent in Prince Edward Island. "If Quebec goes, there will be an awful lot of crying and gnashing of teeth down here," says Ralph Winter, an economics professor at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S. "Things will look pretty bleak."

They will be even bleaker if companies elsewhere in the country grow reluctant to invest capital in an already depressed economy, physically isolated from the rest of Canada. Then there is the redlining question—raised by many Atlantic Canadians, if never by Quebecers—of whether a separate Quebec would interfere with tradeoffs of P.E.I. potatoes and New Brunswick lumber, or stifle changing tastes on Maritime tricontinentalism cables that run through the province. Such actions would raise higher transportation and communications costs that would leave Atlantic goods and services at a disadvantage.

Political agreement would be needed to prevent that from happening and to allow the Atlantic producers to maintain close ties to the rest of Canada.

The eastern provinces would have few options. The eastern provinces have occasionally lined up, aligning themselves with the United States—on particular things Newfoundland's wretched 1948 Confederation debate, when the Economic Union Party argued that keeping closer economic ties with the States was preferable to cutting it, let alone Canada. But that was hardly a mainstream view. "The economic heart has always been strong in the Maritimes," notes Martin Frobisher, a leading proponent of the University of New Brunswick's Atlantic Institute. "Today, few talk as ardently about the United States. At the same time, the push for a monetary and economic union at the local provinces has ebbed and flowed over the decades and seemed to be gaining momentum a few years ago, has decidedly slowed."

In reality, no one really knows what Quebec does. Atlantic Canada will have no chance but to pull itself up by its own bootstraps. Recently, provincial governments are slashing spending on everything from health care to education and social services. It is dramatically making their resource-dependent economies. At the same time, instead of decrying the decline in federal transfer payments, which began under Brian Mulroney's Conservative governments, Atlantic provinces have been calling for a revamping of the employment insurance, and social assistance systems, which they believe have helped the Maritime work itself "out." "A lot of people are starting to realize that whole effort of grants and support payments has not served as well," says Brian Crowley, a Halifax political scientist who, until last week, was an associate of the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council.

Newfoundland, in one narrow respect, could gain from Quebec's

separation. Officials at St. John's say that Quebec separatists would allow them to tear up the hated 1982 agreement under which Hydro-Quebec buys most of the power generated from Churchill Falls, Labrador, at bargain prices. The 65-year deal, officials estimate, costs the province at least \$600 million a year in lost income.

And while Maritimers may not want to join the United Way take some solace from their close ties to New England, which would be unaffected by Quebec independence. Historically, canoes from Hahkies, St. John's, Nfld. and Saint John, N.B., have found markets for their ships, timber and salt fish in New England and even in Ontario and Western Canada. That trend continues today: during 1982, the Atlantic provinces exported \$2.2 billion of goods and services to the United States, accounting for roughly



Performance of the Summerline Review: 'Ours is the college's loss'

ly five per cent of the combined gross domestic product in the last provinces. And Maritime business is seen by McCain's Ponds Ltd., the turkey-walrus frozen-food concern from Miramichi, N.B., and their co-promoter mussels, the living beauty of Saint John's coast as to look south for expansion opportunities. The traffic embodies more than fish and timber, though. Lincoln Greenman, a Paul Simon fan, describes a Maritime leaving home to head down the highway for "New England, sweet New England"—a trip that Atlantic Canadians have been making for generations, leaving hidden towns to seek fortunes in the "Shanghaieries," as well as in Ontario and the West.

For those who cannot, the present society has also been nurtured. "We're used to loss and hardship," says William Ray, a lawyer, one-time broadcaster and former leader at the Newfoundland Liberal party who lives in St. John's. "We'll persevere." So, if history is so important, will the things that grew Atlantic Canada's distinctive identity (its unique heritage) for one, also be its distinctive identity for the future? "I think so," says Ray. "I think the brand new wealth of David Milne Richards of New Brunswick, the harsh landscapes of Newfoundland painter Christopher Pratt, the music of the Rankin Family, Bob MacNeil and the other Celtic-influenced acts (many from Cape Breton, the birthplace of some famous shows on CBC) and *The Two Jakes* of St. Michael's. 'Cautious' are what we call it," says Newfoundland writer Mary Walsh, a member of the CBC's creative troupe. "I think it's a good thing to have a sense of place. It's not like things go wrong here." And, perhaps, because Atlantic Canadian folk always tended to tell the tale.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION

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TRADE BLOCKADE



Art Mauro has earned the right to be cynical about Canada. For the past year, the retired chairman and chief executive officer of the Winnipeg-based Investors Group has criticized the country and its attitude towards the barriers that obstruct trade between individual provinces and territories. There are about 500 regulations blocking the unimpeded flow of products and people from west to east and vice versa. And even as Mauro has struggled to build consensus and co-operation in his role as chief negotiator in the domestic trade talks, Canada managed to achieve as an international actor what it has never been able to do

Canada's inability to get its house in order holds dire economic consequences

at home: free trade. In 1993 Canada concluded a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Mexico and signed on to the successful resolution of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 1986. Mauro remains optimistic about the "immense progress" made over the past 14 months. "We are struggling to remove barriers that have become monumental over 127 years of Canadian history," says Mauro. "We are not an economically homogeneous nation. The different needs of every province have to be taken into account."



Mauro removing 'barriers that have become monumental over 127 years'

As Canadians take stock of their country on Canada Day, it is worth noting that such pronounced regional economic diversity has characterized the nation and shaped its policy since its formation in 1867. Just four years after Confederation, the federal government, concerned about the threat to its crown, the colonial wide frontier, began construction of a national railway. The Canadian Pacific Railway was intended to transform Canada from a legal entity into a nation with economic, political and cultural bonds. At the same time, it had the purely pragmatic objective of forging stronger domestic markets in the face of competition from an economic force to the south.

In 1904, many of the same internal and external threats to Canadian unity and prosperity still plagued the country. But the cost of internal economic disorder and political instability had become too high. In an age of

rapid technological change and highly competitive global markets, the ability to respond quickly and smoothly to shifting conditions is imperative to the long-term survival of corporations and countries alike. Michael Liff, adjunct professor at the Norman Patterson

to address policy areas such as agriculture and environmental and labor standards that have traditionally been the exclusive province of sovereign states. And for those countries without a cohesive national unity, such an environment is potentially overwhelming. Says Mauro: "We're talking here in strategic and political terms. That means that we need at least achieve a strong economic union to hold our own."

In Canada's case, the consequences of domestic diversity are already clear. The equipment now used by currency traders around the world instantly translates every sliver of uncertainty into a domestic financial crisis. Over the past year, foreign creditors' restoring loans of money against two domestic wire spots—Quebec's future as Confederation on and the floated federal government deficit—have sent Canada's markets reeling. The volatile Canadian dollar and jittery interest rates have made it considerably more difficult for individuals and executives to plot their course. Says Alan Zimmerman, chairman of Confederation Life Insurance Co. and a corporate director: "You pay a price for being a Canadian. Part of that is the challenge of developing a national business—despite the disadvantages."

Continuity of the existence of uncontracted interprovincial trade barriers is high on the list of the self-inflicted disadvantages that afflict

Canada's economic performance. The static web of obstacles has impeded the development of efficient, large-scale operations because goods and labor cannot move freely between jurisdictions. Equally destructive, the artificial barriers have encouraged Canadian companies to make decisions based upon small, sheltered markets rather than learning to develop larger business plans that could be adapted to global markets. "The fact is, we will either remove our domestic barriers as an orderly fashion or the reality of a world economy will compel us to do so," says Mauro. The pressure on Canada to conclude a dynamic trade agreement and to optimize inter-national competitiveness is heightened by the emergence of the knowledge- and information-based New Economy. While the so-called Old Economy was based upon natural resources, manufacturing and manpower, the

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New Economy is based upon technology and the instantaneous transmission of data through globally linked systems. With technology networks, the world has become a smaller, more efficient place," notes Bill Robertson, president of the Canadian Information Council.

For those poised to take advantage of that heightened flexibility, the rewards can be rich. The government of New Brunswick, for one, has tried to improve its telecommunications infrastructure and has generously wanted to expedite the release level of its labour market. As a result, the province has successfully convinced many companies, including Pacific Canada Ltd. and Canadian Pacific Ltd., to relocate their data processing and other technology based functions from relatively expensive areas in Toronto and Montreal to lower-cost areas like Moncton.

That new ability to decentralize, while linking corporate operations over a wide distance, means that countries—as well as provinces—must now contend to attract and to keep businesses and jobs. In a global market, governments must, among other things, provide a stable political climate, favorable tax rates and an educated work force. "Canada lies in where it falls best," says Jim Patton, Vancouver-based entrepreneur and chairman of the Jim Patton Group, an international consulting firm. "Companies that are flexible and entrepreneurial—the ones—who always pick up and move."

For the Canadian subsidiaries of competing multinational companies—which have long been a core part of the domestic economic scene—that new mobility presents special challenges for survival. "We fight hard within the company to secure global markets for Canadian-made products," says Williamson. One selling point within the company, he adds, is that it is made in Canada. "As a subsidiary is very much under that in customer U.S. permit operations. And it is therefore able to respond more quickly to changing trends and circumstances."

Still, the country's economic diversity and existence of slow economies behind might eventually give Canada a competitive advantage in the global market, according to some observers. Says Joseph D'Amico, an associate professor of business policy at the University of Toronto's faculty of management, "A monoculture is very effective in the short term and produces big yields initially. Over the long run, though, there is much more strength in diversity." For his part, Paterson claims that he is dedicated to keeping his company in Canada—even as he travels elsewhere. "I've elected to spend my life as a nomad rather than move away," he says. "There is no better place in the world than Canada to grow up than here. It's the heart must first be in order."

SELLING THE NATION

Promoting Canada means different things to Charles Bronfman and Alan Murphy. Bronfman, a Montreal businessman, is spreading a small fortune throughout Canada today in the hope that he can win Canada's interest in their past. Murphy, a Toronto tourism expert, wants to showcase the best of the nation in Old-Canada products, designed to sell Canada's best products. Bronfman is buying history in Canada and Murphy is shopping in shopping and travel experience. But their different desires share a common motivation: pride in Canada. "It's completely Canadian," says Murphy. "And it's really patriotic."



Fronting up the old: investing in Canadian history

Bronfman's interest in promoting Canadian history can be traced to 1981, when the hero to the Seigneurie became a selling point for the Order of Canada in Illbruck Hall. Listening to the historical stories of old Canadians who were receiving awards, he realized how rarely those stories were told. "We're so damn reluctant about ever saying that we're good," says Bronfman. His private charitable foundation, the CIBC Foundation, funded the Heritage Project in 1986. With creative input from veteran broadcast journalist Patrick Watson, the Heritage Project has produced 40 one-minute film segments on Canadian history, all aired on television, in movies, theatres and in school classrooms. Segments have focused on the Comte de Frontenac, whose doing built

helped thwart a British assault on Quebec City in 1693. Sam Steele, the first Minister who helped make the west safe for homesteaders and Joe Shuster, the Toronto cartoonist who created Superman, the immigrant man of steel whom novelist Mordecai Richler describes as the archetypal Canadian—a hero who refuses to take credit for his heroism. To date, the project has cost the equivalent of \$25 million, including contributions from Canada Post and Paul Desmarais's Power Broadcoming Inc. of Montreal, as well as millions of dollars of free air time from various television networks. Says Bronfman, "I just want people to understand that this can try does have roots."

While Bronfman's project looks to the past, Murphy is looking ahead to the future. Murphy, who created a Canadian resort named Hedonism, and helped develop Ontario Place, a waterfront recreation park in Toronto, believes that the world will be made by the best of Canada. He plans to create 100,000-square-foot pavilions, each costing \$25 million each, that will feature the country's finest food and entertainment, and sell high-quality Canadian products. "I want to bring the whole country under one roof," says Murphy. "Toronto will love it, and I think Canadians will get a new sense of what Canada is."

Under Murphy's plan, visitors will be equipped with a small electronic device that they can point at any showcased product to receive detailed information. The device will also be used to transmit purchase orders to the manufacturers, to debit the buyer's credit card or bank account and to provide the manufacturers with shipping instructions. Among the items to be sold: Estima sunglasses carved from caribou horn, award-winning maple syrup, the Fine Devon fishing lure, great Canadian wine, Ski-Doo, celebrity caviar, Monte hits, Lacoste flower seeds from Prince Edward Island, Glena Gault's recording of the Gold-Burn variation and a reasonably priced 15-lb. pepper. With selling products, Murphy is betting that Canada will be on easy sell.

BRONFMAN/DALGLISH



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Walsh and Mercer:
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we look the same,
yet we're different!

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Out on the edge



**SPECIAL
ISSUE**
Hour: Has 22 Minutes.
Watch 4.1, is a review
of the COLO troops,
while Mercer, 36, has performed his own
own comic show across the country.
Last week, they spoke with Maclean's
Senior Writer Bruce D. Johnson.

Maclean's: Comedy is one of our biggest
joys. What is it that's so funny about being
Canadian?
Mercer: I don't think there's a lot funny
about being Canadian. I think one of the
reasons why all of those people are so
careless is they know what's really funny
about being an American. We speak the

same, we look the same. Yet we're very
different, so we have a good head on America.
And I think Newfoundlanders feel the same
way about Canada. We're similar but
we have this attitude that we're way out
on the edge.

Walsh: We're all the edge. We're not
attached. We didn't even become attached
until 1949 so we still carry all that baggage
with us, having been a country—that
sense of Canada being another country.
There are Canadians and then there are
Newfoundlanders.

Maclean's: Do you define yourself as
Newfoundlanders first and Canadians second?

Walsh: I do. I don't feel much more
Canadian as I get to be more middle-aged.

Mercer: I've always felt very much
Canadian and part of Canada. That's probably
my generation. But even if you're growing
in other countries, you say you're a
Newfoundlanders and they look at you like
they don't know where that is and you say,
"Oh, it's a Canadian." It's Quebec, we had
seven million people here [there are

570,000], we'd have the exact duplicate of
that situation. You sure will have a Bloc
Newfoundland.

Maclean's: Does Canada's lack of cohesion
make it more interesting place to work?

Walsh: When COLO started to tour Canada
in the '70s, I never had a sense that Canada
was disconnected. Certainly, there was a
strong sense of regionalism, but I always felt
that Canadians were easily assimilable. They
had a recognizable accent, but they all felt
they were a lot better than us.

Maclean's: Does Canada Day have national
significance for you?

Walsh: I feel it's wrong, the whole program.
There I just think they laid it on in some sort
of bad imitation of the Fourth of July. It's an
un-Canadian, Canada Day, it makes me
uncomfortable. July 1 was never Canada Day.
It was Remembrance Day, the day of the
Remembrance [World War I] First World
War battle in which the last Newfoundland
Regiment was largely wiped out.

Mercer: It's one of our great disasters and
you know we have a good disaster. For

Rails of romance

No matter where she is, five-eighths
Lisa Paul always feels she is
from somewhere else. Her cul-
tural identity, she claims, is a col-
lage. She grew up in Saskatchewan, a
region that has made a name of multi-
culturalism. Now, having lived in
Montreal for 19 years, she is a
Canadian who is still not at ease
speaking English—and a Quebecer
who speaks French with a European
accent. But it would be hard to find a
more Canadian name than Paul's last
one: *Montréalaise du cœur*, a
reference between two French-speaking
strangers who meet in the town to
"Montréal."

The railway is Canada's original
symbol of national unity. But these
days, a passenger train is more "for denoting
that for transport," says Paul. "The train be-
longs to the same era as the cinema, and both
are endangered. American movies are doing
fine, but our national cinema is in jeopardy."

In her own class, particularly *Montréalaise
du cœur*, the characters are trying to commu-
nicate across a strange distance. "I have a



Paul: 'I'd rather open up than close things down'

frustration with space that wouldn't strike
someone who is from here, that immense
space that takes four days to cross," says
Paul. After two decades she still regards her
neighbors as "distant friends." People say
they've never seen Montreal look the way it
does in my films. For me, it looks like it has
been bombed."

Paul's existential vision, with its
accent on alienation, bears more re-
semblance to that of English-
Canadian directors than of her
Quebec colleagues. "I feel much
closer to Francis Ford Coppola and Aron
Ezrahi than to Denis Arcand," she
acknowledges. But her affinity for
Quebec is strong enough that she is
sympathetic, on some level, to the in-
dependence movement. "I feel that
Quebec culture is in real danger." In
the event of a referendum, she says,
"I have a greater inclination to say
Yes, because it's important to give us
our place."

Paul has quotes about nation-
alism. "Frontiers bother me. I'd
rather open up than close things
down. So it's neither a Yes, nor a No
with eyes closed. It has a lot to do
with how and when the question is
posed." And if Quebec becomes inde-
pendent, she wonders if that might rub
the artists of their reason of being. "Creativity
comes from the lack of something. If there
is no need to defend anything, there isn't
the same drive to create."

BRUCE D. JOHNSON

In search of a uniting embrace

It is a common complaint. Canadians re-
cognize that ours is only after they have
been discovered themselves, and Aron
Ezrahi has consistently attracted more at-
tention in Europe than in Canada. At this
year's Cannes Film Festival, Ezrahi's
feature, *Egyptian*, was sold to distributors
around the world. "It's very diffi-
cult to create an event around a Canadian
film," says the Toronto-based director. "We
associate film with glamour, and glamour
is expensive to create. We wait to have glam-
our or then open up to an outside source."

But Ezrahi has found the country a
hospitable place to be a filmmaker. Ger-
maine Gaudin, he says, has given him "a
freedom to explore ideas without the im-
mediate pressure of the marketplace.
Historically, there's an idea that culture is
indispensable to the fabric of our country.
Unfortunately, there's a growing embar-
rassment about that attitude."

Born in Egypt to Armenian parents,
Ezrahi came to Canada at 3 and grew up
in Victoria. "Our house was right beside a
nature house," he says, "and I had a sense of being
in someone else's land. It made me
think how ephemeral anyone's attachment to a
place might be. In my films, the char-
acters I'm drawn to are people in search of a place
or situation they can be rooted in." As
for his own attachment to Canada, Ezrahi says:
"I have a huge feeling of the country, a
country that is able to embrace an identity based
on different historical experiences. And I've
genuinely created by the idea of Quebec, separation.
When I think of it, I feel nothing, I feel nothing
but despair."



Ezrahi: 'a sense of someone else's land'

B. D. J.

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Mythic twists

In 1947, at the age of four, he was chosen to star in *Johnny of the Fair*, a pageant National Film Board movie on the Canadian National Exhibition. That experience, according to Toronto artist Charles Pachter, made quite an impression. "I shook hands with Prince Minister Mademoiselle King, got kissed by Canada's Queen of the Ice Skates, Barbara Ann Scott, and got my first cleavage look at a peep show and, in return, Quebec modernist Joe LaPointe. At an early age, I got the il-lu-mina-tion that Canada's most glamorous."

Since then, Pachter, best known for his direct portrayals of Canadian icons, has been on a "nostalgic quest to figure Canada out." As a young man, he studied in France and the United States, but something drew him back home. "I had a great love of great art con-current with this country," says Pachter, 51. "Maybe it was just a syncretic thing—it came to me and I came to it. I love this place."

Pachter dives up exploring the myths and symbols that build Canada together—often with a twist. And the heated constitutional debate of 1861—one year after the Quebec referendum—has passed down, re-coated Minsters carrying a coffin draped with the Canadian flag. In 1893, with the economy in recession, he painted a moose playing off a skyscraper. For the most famous image can be traced back to 1912 when he began a series of works featuring Queen Elizabeth II in



Pachter: a coffin draped with the flag

where you have hoodlums, you have interesting history. How could it be otherwise? And his making of the coats that led Canada's two head-on collisions to build a nation has left Pachter optimistic. "The idea of Quebec separating just doesn't make any sense—historically, geographically, linguistically or economically," he says. "The more I have discovered while making this stuff, the more it occurs to me that we will be conformed to being neither the French and the English. That is what makes Canada unique."

SCOTT STEELE

At home in a harsh landscape

There was something about the big sky and the endless prairie that made Sharon Bala want to write. In 1974, at the age of 25, she moved to a ranch in southwestern Saskatchewan owned by her second husband, Peter Bala. She had spent her early life in Saskatchewan, as a teacher, a graduate student and an academic. Becoming an author was not one of her ambitions. But, like many Canadian writers, she found inspiration in the land. "I was just amazed by the physical beauty of the place," says Bala, 25. "And I wanted to tell people, but there wasn't anybody to tell."

Bala went on to write two short-story collections, including *Power* (1990), and two novels, most recently *The Fourth Angel* (1992). All about Saskatchewan and its people. More recently, she produced *The Prophet of the Morning: An Apprenticeship as Native*, her acclaimed meditation on the place where she lives. It is a story, forbidding region with severe winters ranging from more than 60° C to -50° C. Yet Bala feels a

deep connection to it. "Home to me is the prairie, which is typically Canadian, and the huge distances you have to travel to get anywhere, and the weather, the experience of winter, which is bred into us out here and which we live even as we hate it—and which I think we would have had to meet as artists if it hadn't been given to us."

Bala believes that a sense of humility in the face of the wilderness is what makes Canadian writers their "good and self-defining." If you're going to survive in this country, there's a kind of pulling in to yourself that's necessary. "The other thing that makes us distinctive, the notes in the country's English French roots. Bala is a product of both strains—her father, Achille Le Blanc, a francophone, her mother, Margaret, of Scottish-Irish descent. To a point, she sympathizes with Quebec separatists. "My own father was called



Bala: inspired by prairie extremes

"Frenchac," she recalls. "But as a kids like there's a real possibility that Quebec will secede. I'm quite surprised to find how quiet that makes me. I realize that my roots are deeper than my obvious ethnicity."

PRISCILLA LEVICH

OH CANADA!



Patriotic or apathetic?
Canadians ponder
their native land.

MORDECAI RICHLER

Writer, 63, Montreal

The separatist cause is a bourgeois vanity, a kind of bourgeois conceit that only be done on the backs of the working class and the farmers because there would be a hell of a price to pay. But I don't think it's going to happen. Even the Parti Québécois is afraid of holding a referendum now or so it seems. But they're going to pay us through a grinder, and it's totally unnecessary.

I think the country's worth saving. It's a good society, it's a civil society. But there is a wasting disease, and I can no longer see people in English Canada betray fed up. And [Hélène] Landry, Louise Beaudin, being a very intelligent man, is trying to do those feelings because it's his interest—you know, to go to Western Canada and say, 'Sho'.

If this country goes down the tubes, which I strongly doubt, then the politicians most culpable in Brian Mulroney's case, not only his own cabinet members, held the rest of us to ransom. He put a Canadian deal with the Quebecers on a shoestring to save office, then he reneged the constitutional debate when the PQ was moribund. And at the end of the day, he put the Conservative machine behind Ron Campbell and Jean Chrétien before their candidate, the Tories would have won a good 30 or more seats in Quebec and maybe seven or eight elsewhere. Beaudin would be right where he'd be under the Opposition. So Mulroney has a lot to answer for. He was a government primarily known for its misuse. I think it was a shameful period. [It killed U.S. President George]

Bush was the messenger of the fall team, Mulroney was willing to be the hot boy. One of the most pathetic moments in one of the campaigns was Mulroney saying, 'I know George and Barbara Bush personally.' I can't, even, even, wasn't that a recommendation—'George and Bar?' And that moment in Quebec City on the stage with



Mulroney and Beaudin warring. When [asked] 'Are You Smiling?' I wanted to take a shogun to the TV.

I think I'm correct in saying that 40 per cent of Canadians are neither of British nor French extraction. And that's going to increase. There are going to be more 100s in Ottawa who are originally Italian or Sikh or Chinese or Jewish. Maybe there's some hope, and they're gonna say, 'Enough of this about the two founding races. We're all immigrants here and we're here with your old quarrel and let's get along.'



SARAH McLACHLAN

Singer-songwriter, 26, Vancouver

Well, I have a brief Brooks & Dunn, who are an American country act, are playing Canada Day in Newfoundland. We were supposed to play there, but the promoters brought us out. Can you believe that? I cannot play Canada Day in my own country. How weird does that tell you about nationalism in Canada?

ERNIE COOMBS

Children's entertainer, 66, Pickering, Ont.

For the past 20 years, Canada has been known as Mr. Drouin, host of the popular CBC television program. On July 1, as a courtesy to Parliament Hill, Canada, who come to know me from the Quebec Station in 1965, is finally becoming a Canadian citizen.

I got a lot of mail saying that I am a great Canadian and I guess I began to get on my own. I always had in mind that, being born in Maine, I would retire there. But five or six years ago, my wife and I decided that we didn't really want to go to Maine, where I was brought up and have my summer home. At that point, I said, 'Well, I may as well become a Canadian citizen. Now I've got to touch out of Canada. But I didn't get around to it. And you know, my wife died and things were sort of muddled for a while. Then, last November, I said, 'Well, I'd better get going on this.' And I did that. It will be very unusual for me.

ALEX COLVILLE

Artist, 73, Wethville, N.S.

If Quebec separates and the country breaks up—which I think would be the inevitable consequence—the Atlantic area would be the one most damaged outside of Quebec. It would be a virtual catastrophe. Later, though, I've begun to feel more optimistic about things before the election. I thought the Liberals were extremely stupid to have picked Clinton. But he has turned out to be a lot better than I think anybody—except maybe his wife and mother—would have thought. It may well be that he will handle this with some kind of remarkable sort of hidden skill. Quebecers may actually vote against Parsons, despite all the polls and cheer the Liberals. And if they do, I suspect Louise Beaudin will take over as a major opposition person in Quebec. Who knows? Beaudin may even end up as prime minister all Canada now day.

Beaudin is clearly an ambitious guy, a very interesting person. He is obviously very bright. He is by far the most interesting figure in public life in Canada right now. He is a guy who has read Freud's *Remembrance of Things Past*. No wonder they feel the rest of us are kind of dull. I can't even speak anything but the most primitive French and I would rather be in Montreal than say either Canadian city. I think they feel the rest of us are actually kind of a bore.



SANDRA SHAMAS

Comedian, 37, Toronto

I'm still confused as to which words were changed in the national anthem. I still sing the old one, realizing that I keep my lips moving, no one will notice. But being Canadian is my greatest asset. In the face of the ridiculousness of the American entertainment industry and its voracious appetite, the fact that I am Canadian seems to me a source of natural modesty, a natural hesitation. In the United States, everybody's 'talented' and 'wonderful' and they have big adjectives. Adjectives are pretty cheap.

I think it would require a specific mission to become American. We all want to hang on to what we have. The longest unperceived border is the world—Canadian as no people is that. But we don't want to become them. It's like the British talking about the French: 'We love their food, we love their cars, we love their architecture. We just don't like them.'



PETER GZOWSKI

Host of CBC Radio's *Morningdrive*, 59, Toronto

When you write down the seven or eight important things that make Canada what it is, you start to wonder about how many are being excluded and divided away—from the strains to the CBC, the Canada Council, the national service of the arts, the scene of us huddling together against the cold. We still like to huddle together against the cold, but more and more now you have to bring your own warmth. I worry about the really basic stuff: the social safety net and health care. I've always thought it was a defining fact of this country that there weren't enough jobs in Cape Breton, so somehow figured out a way that you could say there isn't the jobs coming back. And I'm not sure we are in a position to do that, as available to do that, as we have been.

But I think a lot of the good news is in becoming painfully close to self-killing, rather than being any more. Most of the Quebecers I go to touch with me just laughing at my jokes about it. For Paris, we've very clearly that they are voting for separatism, not sovereignty. What this hell are we looking about? The polls are not for far from where they were in 1980 and 1981. We haven't had the election and we haven't had the referendum.

I wish there were more voices from the creative, more people saying, 'What a country, this is what we are discovering now, this is what Canada means. It is a land of concern, it is a land of goodness. And let's reach down and find its heart and celebrate it.'

DAVE NICHOL

Spokesman for President's Choice products, 53, Toronto

We're on the brink of economic and social chaos. The government is equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists, the world of having everything we want, the world where government can spend \$1.76 for every dollar in taxes and there will be no day of redistribution. Canada needs a wakeup call. For those who can react to change, there are going to be great opportunities. I can almost assure Canadians that we're about to go through a very trying period—and we're going to come out of it as better people and as a better country.





NORMAN JEWISON

Movie director, 67,
Toronto/Los Angeles

I don't understand why Canadian banks and financial institutions have never really thrown any money at film.

and television production. They've left it up to the poor old CRTC and Telefilm. Canada and every body-southern and young people leaving the country and working for American companies—which says the hell out of me. It could be tremendously exciting here. Film crosses all borders.

I think that Patricia is very clever. He and I once had a war to have access to the mass media—and I'm a great believer that the battle is really over who has access to the mass media. The power to change what people think no longer derives from telling people the truth but from being able to tell your lies. These are the days of hype and greed. And if the hype gets strong enough, people will believe it. That is the danger of it.

PIERRE BERTON

Writer, 74, Kinsburg, Ont.

One thing that holds us together is the tensions over Quebec—that is one of the fundamental things we have in common. I don't think Quebec is going to go. Whenever tensions, they'll subside together some kind of a country and call it Canada. It may be a little concerned kind of country, but every country evolves. The background of this country is so different

from the long debate about who we are. No other country in the world debates the way we do, and that is because of the province of the States. It is not a bad thing to debate it though, to understand where we come from and who we are. There is nothing new about this—it comes in cycles. I think Chretien is smart to play it down. He is keeping his powder dry. We've had a mission and people are far more concerned about their pocketbooks and their beliefs than they are about this abstract thing called nationalism.

Because I could have gone anywhere, I stayed here. I am a seventh-generation Canadian—eighty-eight. I'm delighted. When I was a young man I thought, 'Oh, I'll go to the States and become a big shot.'

But as soon as I began to work and started to write Canadian things, I decided to stay. I don't think I would have done any better in the States—perhaps worse. I feel comfortable in Canada.

The cultural renaissance of the last quarter century is very important. When I began in this business, there was no Canadianity—everybody was looking for the Blues. There was no literature, there was no ballet, there was no opera, there were no bookstores—there were no books to put in them. The Writers' Union, which began about 30 years ago with a handful of people, is now up to 900 members; the same with the ACTRA (performers) union. These are signs of the times. We are beginning to get a film industry. It is the culture that holds the country together—culture and sports. And I don't see any destination in that.

BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE

Singer, artist and educator, 53,
Hawaii

I was adopted as a baby and raised in the United States, that I was reunited with my family in Saskatchewan as a teenager and that was it. I had found my home again. I came from an underlying indigenous culture, but I lived as though both sides' leadership and the Canadian constitution can rise to the challenges. I think we're doing better than anyone else in the world.

We're certainly doing better than the States. You don't even hear about the issues that face natives there. But Canadians are cool about our problems because we do deal with them. That puts an ahead of everybody else.



NICK BANTOCK

Writer/artist, 44, Bowen Island, B.C.

Brenton Bantock became a Canadian citizen in 1990.

Before I came here, before I knew any thing about Canada, I thought, 'Isn't a great idea of going to a country that has two languages?' What that meant to me, in my interview, was that my children would grow up speaking and thinking in two languages. I was really surprised to find that it was not considered a bonus, but a loss of Canadianism. You look at what makes up Northern Ireland, at what broke up Yugoslavia. What's the real history of anger and injustice here?

FRANÇOIS GIRARD

Movie director, 31, Montreal

Forty-two years, people kept talking about the Quebec problem, but now the real pressing problem is the Canada problem. Quebec doesn't have an identity problem any more. But Canada has become a kind of virtual country, existing only through institutions such as television. What people of my generation are asking is: are we still willing to pay the price for it?

REID ANDERSON

Artistic director of the National
Ballet of Canada, 45, Toronto

One of the great things about Canada is being able to go to a province like Quebec. It reminds me a lot of Europe. People have a different way of thinking about life in general, and certainly about the arts. It is so different from the rest of Canada—but the thing that makes it so charming is that it's a part of Canada.

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What is surprising is the

TEMPERATURE RISING

Opposition MPs head home in a testy mood as the Liberals ride high in the polls

I wasn't supposed to end this way, the first session of the 35th Parliament. It was supposed to be a leader, premier, House of Commons that voters had fashioned by the 11 ballot choices in last October's federal election. Canadians were assured that Parliament would be the showcase for a new breed of politics, where the government always kept its word, where the opposition was unflinchingly constructive, where the national interest was always placed above partisan interest. But by the time MPs left Ottawa last week for their summer break, such high ideals had been dunked, limited, they returned to their home ridings with fresh memories of filibuster and closure, cut-throat attacks over cabinet seats and bursts of promises betrayed.

Election promises are the currency of politics and so it came as no surprise that prime minister Jean Chrétien spent most of the week trying either to fulfill that currency or deny it before they drew their constituents over the summer for a break. Setting the tone for Liberal MPs was Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, whose personal popularity during his first eight months in power has both surprised pundits and helped his government weather controversies on everything from youth crime to rising interest rates. "We told the people what we would do and we have done it," Chrétien said in an interview last week with *Maclean's*. "We have kept our promises." It is a claim heavily matched by the opposition parties, which clearly hope that the government's postelection glow in the public opinion polls will soon end. Joe Quibb, Quebec Liberal leader,



Boisjard said the Liberals have violated their basic election pledge to get the country back to work and described Chrétien's administration as "an absolute government." Reform Party Leader Preston Manning complained that the government is selfish and spending both the deficit and the national unity crisis. "They have had it out of us since."

The rising temper of the Commons was evident last week as Manning—standing as often repeated pledge to large minorities and offer constructive opposition—led his MPs on their first parliamentary filibuster. Reform went in way over legislative establishing a land-claims settlement that would give 24 Yukon Indian bands a total of 16,376 square miles of land

and \$242.6 million in compensation—a measure that Reform considered too complex to deal with in a busy debate. The government responded by invoking closure to cut off the debate. That day, which was the backdrop of both the Bloc and Reform, set off a back-and-forth of broken promises and democracy under attack. Reform House leader Elwyn Horsman, noting that Liberal MPs had described closure as "outrageously wicked" when it was invoked by the former Conservative government, accused the Liberals of renegeing on their promise to improve the tone of debate in the Commons. Liberal House leader Herb Gray, observing that the last time had been 21 years in the making, retorted that the

Chrétien in the Commons

We have kept our promises

Reformers wanted to threaten the democratic will of Yukon voters.

The summer break may not diminish tensions and, indeed, there are indications that tensions may be even higher when the Commons reconvenes sitting on Sept. 29. By then, the Parti Québécois could be in power in Quebec City and, if so, Boisjard vowed last week that the Bloc would not sit in Ottawa as the voice of Quebec's separatist government. "I am a sovereigntist and this will be the great moment for which we were elected," he said. Such a role is sure to inflame passions. At Finance Minister Paul Martin, one of the government's senior Quebec ministers, told *Maclean's* last week: "It's going to be a very tough session... because of the Quebec situation." Also on the agenda for the return will be the government's plans to overhaul Canada's constitution, an initiative that is likely to draw fire from several quarters, including the labor movement, and poverty groups and some provincial capitals.

But last week, it was Chrétien's promise to scrap the federal Goods and Services Tax and return to lower federal rates that drew the most scrutiny. (Investors' rates climbed to their highest level since November, 1992, following the defeat of the Charlottetown constitutional accord at a national referendum (page 56). Despite that disturbing trend, Martin argued that higher rates do not threaten Canada's prospects for economic growth. "I believe the accuracy is sufficiently robust that it will withstand these interest rates," he said.

Chrétien and his finance minister were also on the spot last week after the Liberal majority on the Commons Finance committee issued a

controversial report on a new tax to replace the GST. The report's key recommendation called for federal-provincial talks to set up a annual value-added tax, blending of provincial sales taxes with a modified GST. The Liberals recommended that the tax be included in the budget process, but will require separately on sales receipts. The report's most controversial proposal: lower the tax rate and streamline its collection by extending it to apply to previously exempted items, including food and drugs.

While critics pointed out that the NATREL, as the proposal was quickly dubbed, looked as awful as the GST, Martin said the committee had made a significant contribution to the debate. "They have laid back levels of government that what Conservatives really want is a balanced mix," he said. That's a very important message not only to the federal government, it's a very important message to provincial governments.

Whether the provisions are better that message should be somewhat clearer due week when Martin meets in Vancouver with provincial finance ministers. Already, several provinces, including Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Alberta appear decidedly cool towards the NATREL bill, Martin is convinced that he has public opinion on his side, adding that the private sector is fed up with the current system. That view is backed up only with the membership of the GST, but with nine provincial sales tax rates, all with different rules on what is taxable and what is not. "They've been out there saying in every level of government, for God's sake, solve this mess," says Martin.

In fact, Canada is the only country in the industrialized world with several sales tax systems and the idea of a national consumption tax did not originate with the Liberals. The Tories tried and failed to get provincial agreement as a harmonized tax. Martin maintains that the Tories failed because they attempted to rationalize the position—no mistake he says he will not repeat. For that reason, he is deliberately evasive when asked what ideas he has in mind for replacing the GST. "If you ask me, do I have a very clear vision of discussion about what I think should be done, absolutely," he says. "That's a first one which says that at five provinces have their own sales tax or three other ways to do it, ask me I open to that? The answer is, absolutely." The conciliatory tone also allows Martin to avoid getting drawn into a debate over whether the government should apply the new taxes to provinces and real drugs, thereby breaking a longstanding Liberal pledge. The tax base would be a very new for the regulations, he told the Commons last week. But for opposition politicians, at

A summer report card

What they promised

Job creation Set up a \$6-billion infrastructure program funded jointly by Ottawa, the provinces and municipalities to end "time of hardship" of people to work

GST Replace the Goods and Services Tax with a lower, more efficient tax that produces equivalent revenue.

Integrity Tighten rules on Ottawa lobbyists; appoint an independent ethics commissioner; reform parliamentary process to end double-dipping.

Feasibility Give the opposition a lower, less important style of government with fewer perks for MPs and smaller budgets for political staff.

Punish Toughen sentences for young offenders and tighten gun controls.

The Liberals say their success depends on keeping true to their election platform. The progress so far:

What they did

The program is up and running with approval given for projects that Ottawa says will create 36,000 jobs. The unemployment rate was 11 per cent when the Liberals took power, and 13.7 per cent in May.

Last week's report of the Commons Finance committee suggests the promise will be kept in name only, with a proposed National Value Added Tax that would work as a flat GST but might apply to a wider range of goods and services and be included in retail prices.

Tighter rules for lobbyists have been introduced, but newly appointed ethics commissioner Howard Wilson will not be independent of government. The government has put to take action on double-dipping but promises legislation within the next 12 months.

Possible link: The shrewdly chosen August 20th (caught by the Tories and the AP travel) is the date Parliament will be in session; offers out to save about \$15 million, and MPs' perks reduced.

Introduced a bill to change the Young Offenders Act, doubling offenders sentences for teenage murderers to 10 years. Promised legislation to tighten controls on firearms.

loss, the issue was not so much the details of the proposed NDP-VOT as whether the govern- ment had broken its word on scrapping the GST. Reform MP Jim Sloye declared that "the Prime Minister certainly played fast and loose with the truth." Sloye predicted that the GST issue would finally end the Liberal's pre- tended political honeymoon.

That honeymoon is a matter of some con- sideration among opposition MPs and some- times on the Liberal side. A Gallup Canada pub- lic opinion poll conducted during the second week of June indicated that 56 per cent of divided voters supported the Liberals, com- pared with 41 per cent in the last election. In Quebec, where the federal Liberals trailed the BQ by 10 percentage points in the election result, the Liberals now narrowly lead the BQ by a margin of 59 to 47 per cent.

Opposition expectations that the issue will finally help because of the GST debate may be misplaced, says Dennis Dooley, vice-president of Environics Research Group in Toronto. A poll by Environics after the election showed that Canadians were more concerned with unemployment and deficit reduction than with getting rid of the GST. "People would love to have no tax, but they know they are not going to get no tax," says Dooley. "So it really doesn't make too much difference to Canadians which side of the track they have a pain on."

The honeymoon has dragged on longer than most, in part, because the Liberals have kept many—but not all—of the promises they made in their famous Red Book. They started their first day in power by cancelling a \$6.6-billion deal to purchase 45 military helicopters. Chrétien has played a large role in the Liberals' success—surprisingly so since, prior to the election, he was seen by many as such a dingo on party issues that the Liberal cam- paign took pains to stress the team approach. "At this point," says Dooley, "he is a definite plus, his style, his demeanor and everything about him is really helping the government."

The honeymoon can't mask the opposi- tion, fractured into Quebec and western wings, for its current highgrounding in the polls. Manning conceded last week that Reformers have been on a "steep learning curve" and need to communicate their mes- sage more effectively. Liberal ministers have also been able to dominate the spotlight. Perhaps so much so that some sides worry that ministers might become complacent.

With the exception of the deteriorating cloth in interest rates, little has been on the Liberal side in erasing growth and the promise of more stable Canadians feel better about them selves and their government. The bar also, though, is tall. Jim Sloye is not from Midwestern and that the Liberals are not the Tories. According to Dooley, what has made the honeymoon linger is that the nine-year affair with Mulroney and the Tories ended so miserably. "People are so happy to have a new government," she says, "that they are willing to give it a little more rope."

New winners, new losers

"Parliament,"

as John A. Macdonald said in 1867, "is a grand inquest which has the right to inquire into any thing, and every- thing."

Macdonald, then, would be disap- pointed by much of the debate in the 138 years following that assertion—but not by the session of Parliament that opened last week for the summer. Perhaps the best thing that may be said is that seldom has a House of Commons appeared more in touch with the real sentiments and inter- ests of Canadians. In a debate on immi- gration, for example, it was possi- ble to hear that Canada accepts far too many immigrants, the new of many British birth, that it accepts not nearly enough the view of some New Demo- crats, that Quebec is not even its fair share of newcomers (the BQ: "Quebec is not—imagine!—that the present system is almost ideal, the govern- ment's word). Perhaps the worst element of the new Parliament is exactly the same: never in recent memory have the divisive efforts of regionalism and deep philo- sophical differences been so evident. Canadians can see their views accu- rately reflected, far better and far worse.

Inevitably, that fractious atmosphere creates win- ners and losers. A winner is someone who not only does what is expected, but does so better than expected. A loser is someone doing either less than expected—or performing contrary to ex- pectations. By those criteria, two of the major party leaders are winners. Prime Minis- ter Jean Chrétien and Bloc leader Lucien Bouchard. Both are in complete control of their parties. Both have not only retained popularity with the people who voted for them, but appear to have expanded on that. But Reform's Preston Manning is a surprise loser. Before the election, he ap- peared to be the leader most likely to be- come a has-been and politician. Since then, he has performed a staggering about-face: on

environmental issues—from never wanting



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANDREW WILSON SMITH



Macdonald, "Parliament at a grand inquest which has the right to inquire into anything and everything."

to talk about the top- ics of never wanting to talk about any- thing else. His pre- viously neutral political stance has gone away. His suggestions last week that Chris- tian Manning can't afford them because he has no party-paid cloth- ing allowance.

Leaders are not the only winners and losers. After Chrétien, coast Justice Minis- ter Allan Rock is the biggest winner among the Liberals, and Environment Minister and Deputy Prime Minis- ter Sheila Copps is the biggest loser. Before the election, the Canadian people who Rock was

Now he is one of the government's smoothest and most effective ministers, already talked about as an eventual suc- cessor to Chrétien. Copps's situation is the reverse. Once one of the most visible

Liberals, she looks very much into high-level decision-making circles despite her title and has not yet demonstrated a vi- sion—or particular inter- est—in environment. Two other ministers who seri- ously aggressive in opposi- tion—Finance Minister Brian Tobin and Immigra- tion Minister Sergio Marchi—have been far more effective in making

the transition to power. To a lesser degree, there are others ex- ceeding expectations. One is the entire Senate at which the only expectations were that it would do nothing—or, per- haps worse, something. But the Tory mis- policy has acted remarkably, particularly in passing a badly flawed Liberal rid- ing re- distribution bill and in debating legislation on Toronto's Pearson airport. Tory leader Jean Chrétien has maintained a surpris- ingly high profile despite his party's near- domination. If it is true that absolute power corrupts absolutely, particularly in the case of his party and policies. Since then, he has performed a staggering about-face: on



SMIRNOFF

And then there's

There's vodka.

Canada NOTES



Baylis's funeral procession: 'a life that is given in service is never lived in vain'

Honoring a fallen comrade

Thousands of uniformed police officers from across Canada and the United States stood at attention outside a suburban Toronto church last week during the funeral service for Metro Toronto Const. Todd Baylis, who was gunned down at a drug-placed public housing complex on June 15. Many of the officers signed away tears as they listened. While at Bayview Glen Church tried to make sense of the tragedy that befell the 25-year-old Baylis, the first Toronto-area police officer to die in the line of duty since 1984. Baylis, he said, "did not die as a hero because he died in service. And therein is the difference, because a life that is given in service is never lived in vain."

Compounding the grief over Baylis's death was the way that his alleged assailant had eluded deportation for a further crime. Claiton Gayle, 23, has been charged with first degree murder as well as attempted murder in the shooting of Baylis's partner, Const. Michelle Leone Gayle, who emigrated to Canada from Jamaica with his family at the age of eight, his 10 criminal convictions for offenses including drug trafficking and weapons possession. He was ordered deported on March 1, 1991, but the immi-

gration department lost track of Gayle's life, and he was never kept to leave the country.

According to immigration department statistics, Gayle's was not an isolated case. Of 26,000 deportations ordered since 1983, only 8,600 were carried out. And so the value of Baylis's death, immigration Minister Sergio Marchi pointed out, was to spend up the deportation of immigrants who commit crimes after arriving in Canada.

Saving the trees

In a press conference televised address, British Columbia Premier Michael Harcourt announced a controversial plan to reduce logging on Vancouver Island. Harcourt said his government will create 23 new parks by designating 13 per cent of the island as protected, up from the present 32.3 per cent. While he said that the move will eliminate 900 logging jobs over five years, Harcourt said that environmental pressures and backyard forests left him with little choice. "We have come to the point," he said, "where an irreparable division of our forests threatens both our environment and our economy."

Marcorio: losing jobs

PAROLE REFORMS

Federal Solicitor General Herb Gray tabled a bill aimed at restoring public confidence in the beleaguered parole system. The proposed changes include giving the National Parole Board the power to order sex abusers of children to serve maximum sentences without parole if there is any risk of a repeat offense during an early release. As well, the list of crimes for which offenders could be forced to serve their full sentences would be expanded to include stalking, drug conspiracy, and drunk driving and criminal negligence that create bodily harm or death.

FAREWELL TO THE JETS?

Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon said it is likely that the Winnipeg Jets will be sold and the National Hockey League franchise moved to another city after he rejected spending \$111 million to build a new hockey arena—a key demand of the team's private owners if the Winnipeg Jets are to remain in the city.

VIOLENT CELEBRATIONS

Five nationals celebrations in Quebec City turned violent in the early-morning hours of June 24 when several hundred troublemakers pelted police with bottles and rocks. Twenty-three people were arrested and two police cars were set on fire during the rampage.

GRIM STATISTICS

A report released by the United Nations Children's Fund said that about 9.5 per cent of Canadian children live below the poverty line—the second-highest rate among industrialized nations after the United States. The report also said Canada rates third, behind New Zealand and Finland, for its rate of teen suicides.

CIGARETTE CRACKDOWN

The Ontario government passed what is believed to be the toughest antismoking legislation in North America. Among other things, the bill makes it illegal for people under the age of 19 to buy cigarettes. It also prohibits the sale of cigarettes in most health facilities, including pharmacies, and outlaws the use of vending machines to sell tobacco products.

AID FOR CUBA

Canada agreed to restore the humanitarian aid to Cuba that it suspended in 1983 after Cuba's military intervention in Angola. The move means that Ottawa will contribute about \$1 million to non-governmental groups working in Cuba.



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IN DEADLY DUTY

Canadian explosives experts live dangerously in Croatia's minefields

"Don't get any closer to Greg and me. If we blow up, we don't want to get your clothes." The remark was a typical display of gallows humor by Cpl. Mark (Rory) Ishid who, along with Sgt. Gregory James, was leading a Canadian mine-clearing team on an early June morning in southern Croatia. It was also tragically prophetic. On a shelling operation last week aimed at clearing areas for United Nations paratroops, Ishid, 32, was killed and James, 35, seriously injured when their armored personnel carrier (APC) triggered a mine. The blast also wounded another Canadian, 31-year-old Sgt. Paul McMahon. By coincidence, McMahon's correspondent John Hesse had accompanied Ishid, James and their team on two mine-clearing operations just two weeks earlier near the town of Kabanja—five weeks after where last week's tragedy occurred. He filed this report.

It was a hot morning; almost 40° C. and the Serb guards served more than an hour late to load the Canadian peacekeepers into their territory. Clearing them were no attack teams on the move, the Serbs led the way in a heavy truck, past abandoned villages with burned-out, wooden houses to a dirt trail that the Croatian Patriarch's Cavalry Light Infantry (PCLLI) had selected for patrol as its 30-km long protection zone separating Serbs from Croats. Not taking any chances, James and Ishid followed closely on foot, carrying with them two types of mine-clearing equipment, pushing gently into the traffic's rocky path with their hand-held probes. Behind them walked two more "mappers"—combat engineers—with mine detectors that beamed constantly because of the many groves of olive and apricot bushes. In testing the ground, a 30-year-old Canadian APC followed, bulldozing as much as two m of trail surface to make sure the rocks in front had raised nothing. Bringing up the rear was an ambulance, which followed the procession all day.

After about a kilometer, James turned to Ishid. "What do you think?" he asked the corporal. They agreed that it felt safe enough to move on. The four other members of the crew continued—two combat engineers, decisions are occasional, not necessary from the top down. "What do we do in a



Ishid in southern Croatia: A trapped land mine killed the 21-year-old Canadian corporal and seriously injured two of his fellow peacekeepers

lot to do with the obvious," explained James, who has 16 years of experience with explosives. "We see everyone on this team lose their feet. If one of us thinks the place is mined, it means a very slow approach from us all." Since April, when they arrived in Croatia with the PCLLI Battle Group, James's 40-man unit has cleared more than 400 km of trail.

There is never a moment when the mine is far forgotten. During a break, while the soldiers swilled mineral water and ate bread cooked of German biscuits, rice and canned pork, some of the troops talked about the dangers they face. Like many peacekeepers, Cpl. Terry O'Leary, a medic, has witnessed a healthy skepticism of the Serbs. "They told us one day there were no mines," he said, "and the engineers found 30 antipersonnel mines just after the raid."

After their arrival in southern Croatia from Chelmsford, B.C., the 1st Combat Engineer Regiment worked 21 days straight. Now to reduce fatigue, the supports rotate two days in the minefield with one in camp. "The tension builds up," said Ishid, who did a three-month tour of duty in Croatia in 1992. "You feel it's a crazy country. It gets spooky." He explained: "The Croats and Serbs lay different [mine] patterns and there are different tensions. Some days you feel, 'Gotta, there are mines here.' You can't see them but you know. If a mine walked over an antelope case—I wouldn't be here if it had gone off, but we're not psychic."

Asked James, "All of us sometimes have felt our stomachs leap into our throats. You look at a map and see no reason to put mines there but that doesn't mean they're not in there. And you can't go back to the books when you're in the minefield. You must not be afraid."

One of the biggest frustrations for the support is that they have no 100 meters to confidence mines—estimated two million are scattered across the former Yugoslavia—bears the confidence. Instead, they usually turn them over to the side but put them there in the first place. Said James: "We top [know up a place] a

few, but the politics is that if they want to take them, they do. That's the worst thing about this job."

As the Canadians proceeded up the trail, now overgrown with high grass, everyone scanned the ground for hidden trip wires. "All of us have touched a wire with our ankles," said Ishid. "We know how much tension it needs to break it." The high grass soon ended and the trail appeared clear. The Serb guides said that it was well used and were eager to drive on. James navigated the area and agreed that the trail seemed safe. Besides, he'd seen signs of activity in the area recently. "You know those empty mine? I shoo and they go back there," he said. "It's the little things like that which help."

Eventually, one of the Serbs wandered over to report that their truck was low on fuel. James readily agreed to supply them with a jerrycan full, as well as some food. "We're not going to lose a Canadian boy to a mine because we were too cheap to give them guys some gas and food," he explained. "No point in passing them off." James agreed his men to take their time. By late afternoon, they had completed seven kilometers without incident. Then it was time to return to the engineers' base, a comfortable, two-story building formerly used as a school.

The next day, Ishid led the crew to a warehouse in the shadow of the Voluntar Mountain. Immediately, the Canadians spotted danger—lines of antipersonnel mines mounted on stakes. Activated by a sharp tap on the trip wire, the mines can kill anyone within a 40-meter radius and seriously injure within 100 meters. As a support detachment,



Recovered land mine; James (in sunglasses above) supports with mine detector below left. "You must not be afraid"

"Definitely, it would ruin your day." A Serb happily pointed to mounds of earth surrounding a small blood-soaked crater where a cow had recently been killed. "Don't step there," he warned through a UN interpreter. The Canadian found a shellfish in a nearby hole.

Ishid was not impressed with the way the Serbs walked around the minefield. "It's a little unnerving," he said. "They're trying away at these mines. My old is that it isn't safe to go in there with them." He ordered the crew to clear the road shoulders but not to accompany the Serbs deeper into the minefield. The Serbs picked up 40 mines and stacked the boxes, stacks and spoils of war before leading them into the back of their vehicle. It was a hazard that the Canadians expected. But

without the power to confiscate the munitions, they were well aware that the mines could soon be replaced elsewhere.

Back at base camp it was bedtime night, and Ishid cooked steaks for his men. They would have the next day off, no mine of the trucks refilled with oil and beer. Ishid, a mine-drafter, stationed. He recently wrote home to his mother, Carol, and his wife, Kelly, after an earlier mine incident seriously wounded all two Canadians. "We are being careful," wrote Ishid, "not letting conspiracy set in."

The young corporal, who has no children, had been scheduled to return to Canada in late June for three weeks of home leave. Instead, his body was flown to British Columbia by bus, a given reminder of the high price some Canadians have paid for trying to keep the peace in a blood-soaked land. □

World NOTES

The court of public opinion

Looking battered and dispondent, former football star U.S. Simpson pleaded not guilty in Los Angeles municipal court last week to the June 12 slaying of his wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, 35, and her friend Ronald Goldman, 35. It was his first public appearance since June 17, when an estimated 10 million Americans watched live TV coverage of a bizarre post-mortem portrait of Simpson's wife. Jured Brown over Catherine Browder, exhibiting in his surrender. Dissuading a grand jury further that massive media coverage had damaged its members' objectivity, a judge scheduled a public preliminary hearing to begin on June 30.

But already the case is being tried in the court of public opinion. Looks to the public by anonymous police sources have created a circus-like atmosphere. Among damaging reports that were debunked last week was one that police had found a blood stained ski mask at the crime scene. And a

friend of Simpson, who lives on his \$1.5 million estate, denied he had told a grand jury that the suspect was not at home at the time of the murders. The coach lawyer said the statements were accurate and had been given to a reporter by a law-enforcement source.



Simpson: damaging leader

Adding to the controversy, local prosecution released two tape recordings, made in 1989 and 1993, of a distraught Nicole Simpson calling 911 for police assistance during violent domestic disputes.

Many black leaders criticized the media coverage, particularly the cover on the U.S. edition of Time magazine last week. A computer-manipulated "photo-alteration" showed Simpson's police mug shot, darkening his skin tone and adding, "The cover appeared to be a conscious effort to make Simpson look evil and inhuman, to sway the opinion of the reader or to become fixated on his guilt," said Dorothy Butler Gilson, president of the National Association of Black Journalists.

saw acted alone, the commission said. Similarly, the panel rejected Palestinian assertions that Israeli soldiers fired on wounded fleeing the massacre site and intentionally blocked the evacuation of wounded.

Potent tobacco

The head of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) told a congressional hearing that one of the country's largest cigarette companies had secretly developed and marketed a tobacco with twice twice the usual nicotine content. David Fowler testified that Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp. of Louisville, Ky. had spent years growing a new variety of tobacco that contains high levels of nicotine, and had used nicotine as an additive to increase the amount of nicotine released during smoking. The company's goal, Fowler said, was to boost sales by increasing the addictive power of tobacco. Later, Brown & Williamson chairman Thomas S. Fowler testified at the FDA commission, calling his investigation of the tobacco industry a form of McCarthyism.

TYING THE KNOT

Signaling a new era of military and political co-operation, Russia joined Serbia's Partnership for Peace program for closer links with the West. In a policy reversal, Russia also accepted that some of its former satellites in Eastern Europe might eventually join the 16-member alliance as full members. Russia is the 21st country to sign the Partnership for Peace, which provides for joint military training, weapons and defense planning but offers no security guarantees.

DEFUSING A NUCLEAR CRISIS

North Korea agreed to hold talks to prepare for a first-ever summit between the presidents of the two Koreas, a move hailed by the South as a positive sign for easing nuclear tension on the divided peninsula. At the same time, U.S. President Bill Clinton announced he would suspend his push for UN sanctions against the North and resume diplomatic talks after it agreed to freeze its controversial nuclear program.

HELP FOR RWANDANS

With UN Security Council approval, French troops moved into western Rwanda to try to halt the ethnic violence and genocide that have claimed half a million lives in the past three months. But with the Tutsi-led rebel organization accusing the French of merely propping up the Hutu-led government, the troops posted a guard at a refugee camp sheltering 6,000 Tutsis. They also began ordering down on Hutu militias, eliminating their roadblocks.

TURMOIL IN JAPAN

After just two months in office and facing a non-confidence vote in parliament, Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama resigned, creating a political vacuum. He and his cabinet were to remain on as a caretaker government while members of the badly fragmented parliament negotiated to find support for a new candidate for prime minister.

FLIGHT FROM HAITI

Hundreds of Haitians and foreigners crowded onto flights leaving Haiti ahead of a U.S. ban on all commercial air traffic, which took effect on June 24. The ban, as well as a total trade embargo imposed by the United Nations last month, is aimed at forcing Haiti's army leaders to resign and allow the return of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. President Bill Clinton also froze all U.S. bank accounts and property held by Haitians who are not U.S. residents.

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THE FEAR FACTOR

Worries about Quebec's future and financial turmoil abroad drive markets into a tailspin

Peter Platt is no enthusiast about Canada's economic prospects that he makes even Prime Minister Jean Chrétien sound like a pessimist. Platt, 27, is the senior bond analyst in charge of Canada for Salomon Brothers Inc., the huge New York City-based securities dealer. And last week when traders in Toronto and other world financial capitals pondered over a steep jump in Canadian interest rates and sold aways to the value of the Canadian dollar, the view from Platt's office in Salomon's headquarters in Manhattan's World Trade Center remained suitably negative. "We're bullish on Canada," said Platt. He argues that Canadian economic growth remains robust, the provinces are shedding their budget deficits, Ottawa is getting set to follow suit, all, if history is any guide, the growing anxiety among investors about Quebec's future is bound to have only "This period of political uncertainty have provided tremendous buying opportunities," said Platt. Coming from a firm that sells more than \$1 billion of dollars worth of federal and provincial government bonds to U.S. and other foreign investors every year, that assessment could be overly optimistic. That Platt ended off dreams of investors to back up his assessment, he declared Platt: "These wide gaps between Canadian and U.S. rates are not justified by the fundamentals."

Platt's logic may be sound, but last week he was clearly in a minority in the world of high finance. As Chrétien and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Quebecer Minister Jacques Parizeau and Bloc Québécois Leader Lucien Bouchard continued to hurl insults at one another, Canadian

stock prices plunged and the dollar was beset by international currency speculation. To defend the dollar, the Bank of Canada moved its trend-setting rate by a hefty 0.87 percentage points to 7.08 per cent. Banks and other financial institutions then quickly increased their loan rates, pushing the cost of a five-year closed mortgage up by a half percent, or just to 10.75 per cent, three percentage points higher than the 7.75 percent rate that prevailed as recently as mid-March. Many economists say that those rate increases threaten to choke off a fragile economic recovery and could

LIFE GOES ON ...



The Post-Quebecer, led by Paul Martin, is elected on Nov. 25, 1992



the first quarter, Canadians should be respecting the benefits of that growth with shapier cuts. He added that the cuts for higher rates in the Quebecers to choose from. Daniel Johnson's Liberals over the 70 in the Quebec election that must take place by November. "If Johnson were to win the elec-



Bouchard, Parizeau (below) accuse financiers of waging a scare campaign



tion, interest rates will go down," Chrétien said. "If Parizeau wins the election, salaries nearly we will have to pay a bigger price."

Parizeau and Bouchard scoffed at those arguments, insisting that the Chrétien government's inability to contain its own budget deficit, as well as worldwide financial turmoil, are to blame for the weakness of the dollar and the interest rate jump. "The last increase of the interest rate is clearly solely motivated by international factors," Bouchard had reported. Parizeau, in turn, repeated his accusation that Canadian banks and other financiers are trying to frighten Quebecers into voting Liberal. "Some Canadian financial institutions are trying to play politics with our own money," said Parizeau. "Far enough, but we don't have to believe them."

Befored the scenes, Martin said his officials were scrambling to assess the damage, from the lowest rate below 5.5 per cent, most interest rates have climbed about two percentage points higher than Martin forecast in his February 22 budget. If rates were to remain a

percentage point higher, that interest for a half hour, it would add \$1.7 billion to the government's borrowing costs—and to the deficit. Martin said \$1.4 billion in spending as his estimates for an interest rate hike. Last week, Reform Party leader Preston Manning repeated his call for Martin to take a pain budget, and Parliament Hill boomed with speculation that Martin was preparing just such a deep, or a series of deep, new spending cuts, to meet his deficit target.

But in an interview with Martin's spokesman, Martin said that "People talk about how interest rates have risen, but the projections on the negative," Martin said. "What what they also want to talk about is how the growth rate and the employment rate are substantially better than we

projected," Martin added. "This also has a major impact on rates. That's a quote. It's not the implication is that you simply proceed from crisis to crisis as opposed to seeing, look, that's our goal and every effort of government is directed to that goal and there's nothing that is going to cause us to deviate from it."

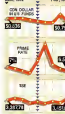
Martin could afford to sound only last week because at least some of the pressure from abroad eased. A \$2 billion issue of U.S. government five-year government of Canada bonds sold at almost immediately the day that the bonds were issued. Whatever their fears about Quebec's future, at least some investors clearly felt that higher yields on Canadian government bonds, which last week were yielding about two percentage points higher than the yields on equivalent U.S. government bonds—was more than enough to compensate them for the additional risk. As well, the controversy about Quebec's status of Martin's attacks and those of other critics who blame high interest rates on the deficit and the national debt.

Still, most economists and other experts concede that external debt remains a major problem. Last week, the U.S. dollar dipped briefly to 99.80 cents, just a point below its previous low. The U.S. Federal Reserve Board chairman will increase U.S. interest rates again. Alan Greenspan has been pushing U.S. rates up since February, in part to defend the beleaguered greenback, but also to contain inflationary pressure in the U.S. economy, which has bounced back from the recession for better than Canada's. If Greenspan raises rates again, Bank of Canada governor Gordon Thiessen will have little choice other than to follow suit.

Those adverse external pressures set the current crisis apart from previous



AND ON ...



will come after the election if the PQ wins its current lead in the polls and wins over board traders with a foreign-owned investment dealer, who declined to be identified because his firm conducts a lot of business with Ottawa, said that a PQ win will crash the economy and put us back on a dollar at 65 cents." He added that foreign bond buyers may then swoop in to stretch of investors. "We guess the worst of the economy, which is positive for the bond funds," said the trader.

Salomon Brothers' Platt is adamant his clients—predominantly U.S. companies and investors—must understand and other key institutional investors to consider how we even worse. Platt said that the two-year coupon rate gap between yields on long-term Quebec government bonds denominated in U.S. dollars and U.S. government bonds as approximately as highest level in three years. "We believe this is a matter who was the election, bond prices will rise," he said. His reasoning: the uncertainty over the result will have passed, and even if the PQ wins, polls show that most Quebecers still oppose independence. Platt added: "When I speak to my clients, they say, 'It's not a first I don't want to live in Canada, it's just a question of timing.'"

Despite Platt's enthusiasm, for the moment at least, most of those institutional investors—both in Canada and abroad—appear to be waiting on the sidelines until the storm passes.

AND ON ...

Liberal Charles Martin helps convince Quebecers to stay. No to sovereignty talks on May 26, 1992



those adverse external pressures set the current crisis apart from previous

JOHN DALL with HAROLD CARAGIAN and LANCE FINNER in Ottawa and ANTHONY DALY with JUDY CARAGIAN in Toronto



'Canada is the solution looking for a problem'

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

In 1867, when the three nation inheritors of four British colonies reluctantly joined in a federal union to be known as the Dominion of Canada, the issue was survival. It still is.

Many fine theories have been spun about the nation's confederation that led up to Confederation, but the most likely reason of what happened runs something like this: The members of the colonial governments that provided the parliamentary services that kept the people at bay and the politicians in pocket money were running out; the Yanks were in an expansionist mood, threatening the colonies' future independence. They didn't trust most of the North American holdings sketched between central Europe and benign neglect. Something had to be done. The fledgling politicians and opinion leaders of what would become the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia got drunk together in Quebec City, then got drunk together again in Charlottetown and finally decided they could grab more power for themselves by creating their own country than if they brought into the British or American systems—and kings, Canada was born.

That may be a slight exaggeration, but you certainly wouldn't believe anybody could establish this lousy, horrid, chaotic, chaotic country while stone-cold sober.

Ever since that initial July 1, when we first celebrated our birth, 127 years ago, we have been busy drinking or trying to find the sun that were meant to blind us from Quebec to Pacific and back again. The north-south pill of economic growth across the 46th parallel has always been more powerful than the roughest ask, held together by wretched drinking and McFlurries. Most countries understand that the question between national survival and economic efficiency doesn't always balance, but their citizens feel so strongly about the former that they are willing to sacrifice

There remains a quiver of common intent among most Canadians that this country is well worth preserving

some of the latter. Not to act in our own self-interest by strengthening the ties that bind us may seem as strange. But then, we're Canadians. Our colonial roots combined with the effects of a lily-white Presbyterian conscience on generations of Anglo-Canadians has created us with a perpetual minority complex. It has denied that we don't have much but not that we cannot run ourselves, so deeply to local and regional issues that we prevent Canada from working very well. We've succeeded brilliantly as both empires. Until recently, Canadians seemed proud of their feelings of inadequacy whenever they walked into a room, they would inevitably meet in it the most uncomfortable chair. Collectively, we acted as if we were determined to live on the inside perimeters of civilization. Doug Broadbent who once declared that Canada was very important to the world, because if Canada didn't exist, the Chinese could still right across and invade Denmark.

The governing perception Canadians have of themselves and the large land they inhabit is caught in our national motto: *maritime* (and more: from sea to sea). The strength of this sentiment—that we connect the world's two great oceans—is one of the

multifarious reasons why Anglo-Canadians stayed in Quebec, sometimes for generations. Quebec would forever rest inside the sea-to-sea metaphor that dominates our perception of the Canadian landscape. Ultimately, Canada's raison d'être lies in the possession of this land—sea to sea.

Still, in this special issue of Mother's Illustrations, were important bits still laid on together and even if they're a more seemed weaker, there remains a quiver of common intent among most Canadians—French, English and all of us others—that this country is worth preserving. Agustin Barron Gamio, a former Mexican ambassador to Ottawa, got it right when he was asked what he thought of Canada just before leaving his mother's post to go home. "Canada," he said, "is the solution looking for a problem." That's precisely what we are. Yet the reason for such subtle optimism is hard to see, especially when rousing up our national debt or watching Lucien Bocherd and Jacques Perreault trying to tear the country apart.

The happy fact is that no matter how hard some Canadians try to make the worst out of the busy economy and constitutional circumstances in which we find ourselves, most of us have not stopped subscribing to the notion that Canada is possessed by an extraordinary resilience. It must be. No other civilized nation on earth could withstand the worst constitutional confusion inflicted on us by our politicians and still be around to celebrate its 127th birthday. In other words, this country takes a lot of killing.

Despite these and other problems, given the signs of living somewhere, anywhere, else, most Canadians—even in Quebec—would probably agree that what we've got here is a daily miracle of a country. We more than must the bare definition of a successful nation, as a body of people who have done great things together. This is a magnificently unworldly land, enjoying personal and collective freedom as provided in first order books. There are few class or caste boundaries to achieving nobility and distinctions. Being Canadian isn't a nationality, it's a condition. When citizens declare they're Japanese or Albanian, it's a deliberate statement. When one of us proclaims we're Canadian, it is an act of faith, a gesture of permanent potential and possibility that it will take generations to realize. It's that incompleteness that attracts newscasters because they feel there might be sport for them. No wonder we're the envy of the world, no wonder so many people want to live here forever.

Canada was built from the beginning on dreams as well as on sports. This wonderful country of ours was put together not by bloodlines, but by tradition, but by virtue of bloodlines of every kind and shade who arrived in what they thought would be their new country. And for most of them it was.

Two things—a nation and an individual—do deny what we lack instead of celebrating what we already have. Yet to most of the world's troubled citizens, Canada appears blessed with the miracle of heaven.

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between the two eldest siblings, 15-year-old Jack (Andrew Robertson) and his lively older sister, Julie (Charlotte Gainsbourg). The story unfolds from Jack's point of view. He is a bundle of hormonal confusion, a naive teenager who keeps his head buried in a science-fiction novel (John Fogar to Orlando—where he is not mentioned) and a romance (Jack becomes infatuated with his sister, who flirtatiously leads him on. But when Julie starts dating an older man with a flashy sports car, Jack's jealousy forces a showdown between sibling and adolescent masculinity.

As a story of children left to their own devices, *The Cement Garden* is reminiscent of William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*. But instead of a jungle island, the setting is an urban wasteland: the family's strange house sits all by itself in a sea man's land of junkyards and vacant lots. With stark, haunting visuals, British director Andrew Davis successfully captures the disturbing essence of McEwan's prose.

Oddly enough, in creating this delicate and cruel drama, Davis has teamed up with his own niece, Gainsbourg (the daughter of actress Jane Fonda, the director's sister, while Jane, too, plays the family's fourth and

youngest child. The performances are superb. And the surreal chemistry between Gainsbourg and Robertson creates a sweltering sexual tension.

For the British, secret and hot weather seem to go hand in hand. The Cement Garden takes place during a freakishly hot sun



Scene from *The Lion King*: the flower of real life

near an old nuclear reactor from Bafata about brother-sister incest, 1993's *Claw My Eye*. With the British empire gone and the social fabric in decay, even the classic seems to have lost its civilizing influence. In *The Cement Garden*, secret becomes a refuge, as seen in its uncut version. The film gives no moral judgment. In fact, there is a tragic

innocence in the attraction between Jack and Julie. Like real dogs, mantrick English men—and women—they have simply lost control.

B.O.B.

THE LION KING goes a step further than such recent Disney animated features as *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *Aladdin* (1992) in trying to appeal to modern sensibilities. These earlier films tinkered with classic stories—and, especially, with their heroines—in order to seem contemporary. *The Lion King*, the first of the studio's 3D-animated features to come from an original story, addresses itself directly to the current American obsession with family and social breakdown, particularly the importance of fathers.

A story filled with wrenching emotions, *The Lion King* is set in Pride Land, the savannah landscape wisely ruled by the lion king Mufasa. The young prince Simba spends his days goofing about and enjoying lessons in authority and royal responsibility from his father. The only shadow on the rosin is cast by the lion's evil brother, Scar. His plan to overthrow Mufasa, a vicious cat who dwells beyond the kingdom in an elephant graveyard, is to kill both father and son and take the throne for himself. In a nice touch of uninitiated story, the lions are portrayed as the ultimate father/son boys/girls, whereas in natural life they are a ferociously dominated species. When the hyenas receive guidance for the first time, from Scar, they show their lightning potential: the would-be usurper has them goase-step by his.

After Scar engineers Mufasa's death—the last frame remains his son leaping a wide horrid staircase—the public riddle Simba from Pride Land into the desert. There, he is rescued and raised in an oasis paradise by Timon and Pumbaa, an odd pairing of a sardonic and a warlike. These two certainly prove themselves to be true friends, but they cannot replace his father. Indeed, they mock why Simba remembers Mufasa's teaching and connect the prince to him by his responsibilities. It takes a Hamslet-like visit from the ghost of his father to restore Simba to a sense of duty and send him back to Pride Land, now under its ugliest and cruellest tyrant, Scar. Scar, now made to realize he has lost, now is not the Lion King. *Partly* in the 1995 Indian cinema.

An Afrocentric movie that reconciles with American anxiety about despotic swagmen in the ghetto, *The Lion King* assembles his bits in one appeal for children. There are the usual Disney beaver-waters production numbers and wild comedy scenes to relieve children petrified in their parents' laps during Mufasa's death. The animation is suitably superb, especially for wilder-than-stampede and the slow-motion climactic fight with Scar. And more than any of the new animated Disney movies, *The Lion King* is filled with joy and anguish that have the flavor of real life.

DEAN DENTON



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Zowie, Dr. Foth, what's happening?

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Zowie, Dr. Foth, it is certainly profitable not to mention potatoes in peak at you percolating down the province.

Excuse me, specifically, the proximity of your current comedy to the philosophical conundrum of information.

Well, you have us on our holiday and, well, is the whole thing going to fall apart?

No way, José.

Why do you say that, O zowie?

It's simple. Those who would separate, in Quebec, are in a running.

Why do you say that, mighty one?

Because they compromise the intellectual elite, the employees of Radio-Canada, the influential journalists, the academics, all the college lads living their own.

That would seem to signal victory for their cause.

Not so.

Why not?

Because there are more people in Quebec who dislike him, rather than for him, it tends to the contrary, the better friends will be.

But we know that Jacques Boivin is by far the most popular politician in Quebec.

That is true, but there is a small problem.

What would that be, unsavory one?

As far as he has collapsed, Lucien appears to have been a devotee of four different political parties in his life.

True?

In his memoirs, recently published in English, he tells us that he was first a supporter of the Liberals and Fern Trudon. He recently maintained his membership in the Parti Québécois while accepting B. Mulroney's invitation to become Canada's ambassador in France before being appointed into the Conservative cabinet before fleeing across the Canadian border as the leader of the suddenly avowed Bill Québécois.

So?

It would seem to me that he has the situation spun of a hamsterball.

Do you have any further evidence of this?

Yes. It seems he is registering his two young boys, children of his second wife, Cal-



ifornia, whom he met on a Paris-London flight while ambassador in France, as American citizens.

So what are you saying?

This guy doesn't believe in Canada. He doesn't even believe in Quebec. He wants his kids to be Yanks.

Would you say he wants it both ways?

I would suggest that.

Get serious. What do you really think is going to happen?

What is really going to happen in the PQ will of course win the election in Quebec (which the skilled Mr. Charbon blarneyed out would be held in September), thus ensuring any doubting Québécois voters that the federalists were raising (Gaelic?) Johnson's show).

And then?

As you'll recall, Brother Lucien confided in his infamous "all-of-them" sermon to the cloistered inmates of the Canadian

Chamber of Commerce in Ottawa that he had no fear of young Charbon in the upcoming information showdown, but expressed some extreme nervousness over the prospect of our Pierre Elliott Trudeau appearing in the battlefield.

OK, get to the point.

What will happen, once the separation referendum is called, is that old horse Trudeau indeed will start at the barn and will dominate the federalist cause in the ensuing debate, on television and off it.

And then?

And then there will be a spontaneous anti-demoral across the nation, that will replace the surrogate Charbon as leader of the Liberal party to unite the separationists in the eye.

You're not serious.

Of course I'm serious. Just as Charles de Gaulle was summoned back from his retirement in Colombey les-Deux-Églises to save France. Just as Churchill, painting and doing his bricklaying during a Churchillian, came back and were time in his delay to become prime minister after the Brits had rejected him following the war in which he had mastered the Nazis.

You're not saying.

Of course I am. Trudeau, aged 63, from the various hence, with or without new children, will emerge as his starting silver walker to save the nation.

Is this going to save the Lib-and-party?

Why care? The Liberal party is as slippery as peanut butter.

Well, what next?

What matters is that the two major voters in Quebec are going to decide the vote. Not fear party Lucien who now seems to be also the leader of the Parti Québécois

in an all-consuming preoccupation.

So what's going to happen?

I'll tell you what's going to happen. That separates me, once you're really in a net.

What? Quebec voters want to rock their most at Ottawa, so they should, while maintaining their links with the great motherland.

What does that mean?

It means that this scribbler is often asked to speak to assembled conventions of weight manufacturers.

What's that got to do with the fear of eggs?

I tell them that 30, 30 years from now is the same hotel, probably from the same judges, some brilliant expert will be telling some audience about the prospect of why Quebec will or will not separate.

Well, Dr. Foth, you certainly managed to sound as stupidly the hell/foolish.

No probs. None at all.

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The image is a still life composition. In the foreground, the neck and body of a blue acoustic guitar with a yellow pickguard are visible. Behind it, a brown leather guitar case is open. To the right of the guitar, there is a small book titled 'THE FOLK FESTIVAL' and a circular button that says 'Folk Festival' with a crown and 'SA' on it. In the bottom left corner, a bottle of Crown Royal Canadian Whisky is shown, with its distinctive gold and blue label and crown cap. The background is dark and textured.

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